FOREIGN
BROADCAST
INFORMATION
SERVICE

Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-89-187
Thursday
28 September 1989

Daily Report
East Europe

FBIS-EEU-89-187 *28 September 1989*

CONTENTS

BULGARIA

PRC Military Delegation Tours Bases, Sites *[NARODNA ARMIYA 25 Sep]* 1
Partizdat Publishes Book of Gorbachev Speeches *[BTA]* 1
Zhivkov Greets International Womens Conference *[BTA]* 2
Consular Consultations Held With Yemen *[Sofia Radio]* 2
Yordanov Receives Auto Club Representatives *[BTA]* 2
New Academic Year in Army Previewed *[NARODNA ARMIYA 25 Sep]* 2
Politburo Approves New Weekly Party Journal *[BTA]* 3

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

More on GDR Refugees in FRG Embassy in Prague 4
GDR-FRG Negotiations Continue *[Hamburg DPA]* 4
'Some' Refugees Leave for Home *[Prague TV]* 4
FRG-CSSR Ministers Meet for Talks *[CTK]* 4
Situation in Prague 'Intensifies' *[Hamburg DPA]* 4
Stepan, U.S. Scientists Hold Talks *[CTK]* 4
Jackson Hole Meetings 'Very Productive' *[Nyvlt in RUDE PRAVO 26 Sep]* 5
Jakes Meets With National Front Party Figures *[CTK]* 5

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Stoph Welcomes U.S.-USSR Arms Agreement *[ADN]* 6
'Positive Effects' Seen *[ADN]* 6
Fischer Talks With Ugandan, Danish Ministers *[ADN]* 6
Genscher UN Remarks 'More Than Questionable' *[ADN]* 6
Fischer Meets Genscher *[ADN]* 7
German Communist Party Delegation Visits *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 26 Sep]* 7
Dresden SED Delegation Visits FRG *[ADN]* 7
Honecker Receives Swedish, Sudanese Envoys *[ADN]* 8
Poland, CSSR, Romania To Join in Anniversary *[ADN]* 8
Official Praises Work of Atomic Energy Agency *[ADN]* 8
Bishop Calls on Catholics To Take Stand *[FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE 27 Sep]* 8
Freedom Demonstration Called 'Anti-Socialist' *[Hamburg DPA]* 9
Dohlus Says 'Great Demands' Made on Party *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 22 Sep]* 9
Leaders Honor Collectives for Achievements *[ADN]* 11

HUNGARY

600 Slovak Refugees Appear in Budapest *[Budapest Radio]* 12
Interior Official Comments *[Budapest Radio]* 12
Barabas on Ideological Meeting in Berlin *[NEPSZABADSAG 23 Sep]* 12
Government Satisfied With Brussels Economic Plan *[MTI]* 13
Straub Meets Portugal's Soares on Arrival *[MTI]* 13
Reportage on National Assembly Session 13
Session Opens 26 Sep *[MTI]* 13
Passes Penal Code Amendment *[MTI]* 14
Details of New Penal Code *[MTI]* 14
Adjourns 27 Sep Session *[MTI]* 14
Session Resumes 28 Sep *[MTI]* 14

POLAND

FRG Refugee Situation in Warsaw Continues 15
Foreign Ministry Spokesman on Issue *[PAP]* 15
Further From Spokesman *[PAP]* 15
Bonn Officials Arrive in Warsaw *[Hamburg DPA]* 15
GDR's Vogel Visits Warsaw Embassy *[Hamburg DPA]* 15
Refugees Refuse Vogel Visa Offer *[Hamburg DPA]* 16
Further on Foreign Minister's UN Meetings 16
'Personally' Thanks Genscher *[Hamburg DPA]* 16
Meets Baker, Arens in NY *[PAP]* 16
Talks With Perez de Cuellar *[PAP]* 16
Finance Minister Continues Meetings in U.S. 16
Meets With IMF Board, Snowcroft *[PAP]* 16
Addresses IMF Meeting *[PAP]* 17
Gives News Conference on Economy *[PAP]* 17
Jaruzelski, Baker Greet Parliamentarians in Warsaw *[TRYBUNA LUDU 22 Sep]* 18
Paper Publishes Lithuanian Pole's Complaint *[GAZETA WYBORCZA 25 Sep]* 18
Israeli Diplomat on Relations With Poland *[PAP]* 19
New Radio, Television Chief Interviewed *[GAZETA WYBORCZA 25 Sep]* 20
UK Paper Profiles New Government Spokesperson *[London THE DAILY TELEGRAPH 27 Sep]* ... 20
Mazowiecki Addresses Parliamentary Conference *[TRYBUNA LUDU 25 Sep]* 21
Editorial on Dangers of Mazowiecki's Policies *[Majka in TRYBUNA LUDU 25 Sep]* 22
French Daily Interviews Lech Walesa *[Paris LE FIGARO 26 Sep]* 23
Secretary Rakowski Warns of Party Breakup *[Warsaw TV]* 25
Party Members Respond to Congress Opinion Poll *[TRYBUNA LUDU 25 Sep]* 26
Jaruzelski Message to Peace Marathon Participants *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 25 Sep]* 26
Sejm Approves Increased Budget Deficit *[PAP]* 27
Militiamen Call for Openness, Depolitization *[GAZETA WYBORCZA 25 Sep]* 27

YUGOSLAVIA

Slovene Assembly Adopts Constitutional Amendments *[TANJUG]* 28
Further on Vote *[TANJUG]* 28
Potrc on 'Very Important Act' *[Ljubljana Radio]* 28
Slovenes Welcome Amendments With 'Enthusiasm' *[Belgrade Radio]* 34
Drnovsek on Slovene Assembly Session *[TANJUG]* 34
Federal Assembly Seeks Court Ruling on Amendments *[TANJUG]* 35
Speeches, Debate at 26-27 Sep LCY Plenum 35
Pancevski Addresses Body *[Belgrade Radio]* 35
Simic Views Threat to Military *[Belgrade Radio]* 37
Kucan on 'Great Majority' Support *[Belgrade Radio]* 39
TANJUG Carries Debate 47
Markovic, Others Meet on Amendments *[TANJUG]* 56
Vojvodina's 'Indignation, Concern' Over Events *[Belgrade Radio]* 56
Montenegrins Protest Slovenian Amendments *[TANJUG]* 56
Workers Protest Adoption of Slovene Amendments *[TANJUG]* 57
Army Paper on 'Grave Consequences' of Amendments *[Stojadinovic in NARODNA ARMIJA 21 Sep]* ... 57
Kosovo Executive Council Vice Chairman Resigns *[Pristina Radio]* 58
Stari Trg Miners Strike Over Pay Demands *[Pristina Radio]* 58

PRC Military Delegation Tours Bases, Sites

AU2709131389 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 25 Sep 89 pp 1, 4

[Maj Evgeni Genov report: "Prospects of Fruitful Cooperation"]

[Text] The members of the delegation of the PRC People's Liberation Army [PLA] led by Colonel General Guo Linxiang, deputy head of the PLA Main Political Administration, visited various cities, military units, and higher military establishments, talked with soldiers and commanders, and reviewed historical and cultural sites. Toward the end of its visit the delegation was received by Army General Dobri Dzhurov, member of the Central Committee Politburo of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] and minister of national defense. The meeting was attended by Colonel General Mitko Mitkov, head of the Main Political Administration of the Bulgarian People's Army, and generals and officers of the Bulgarian People's Army. Li Fenglin, PRC ambassador to Bulgaria, and Senior Colonel Jiang Zongfan, PRC military attache in Bulgaria, also attended the meeting.

In his speech, Army Gen Dobri Dzhurov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of national defense, expressed his satisfaction with the fact that representatives of the PLA are visiting Bulgaria, and with the friendly meetings and talks the delegation had with soldiers and commanders of the Bulgarian People's Army. He stressed that now our people are conducting exceptionally important revolutionary changes in our entire sociopolitical life. The road of restructuring is not an easy and smooth one. The difficulties stem from the fact that now we must have a different attitude and restructure our thinking, behavior, and actions. Many obsolete methods of work must be eliminated and rejected. Applying and utilizing the achievements of scientific-technical progress better in all areas of social activity is the basic element of the comprehensive changes.

Army Gen Dobri Dzhurov pointed out that stressing the quality factors is the basic element in constructing and developing the country's Armed Forces. He briefly reviewed the most important directions of the program that was worked out, whose practical implementation will elevate the operational, tactical, combat, and political training of the staffs, commanders, and soldiers, and entire army life to a qualitatively new level. The soldiers of the Bulgarian People's Army have successfully completed this academic year. Now it is especially important that everyone work selflessly to implement the tasks contained in the plan documents of the current academic year.

Army Gen Dobri Dzhurov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of national defense, also spoke about the difficulties in our relations with our southern neighbor, Turkey, caused by the unrealistic and great empire policy of the Turkish Government. In conclusion the minister of national defense pointed out that the visit of the PLA delegation in Bulgaria is a good beginning and precondition for strengthening and expanding contacts and cooperation between the two armies.

Col Gen Guo Linxiang, deputy head of the PLA Main Political Administration, expressed thanks for the warm hospitality rendered to the delegation. The members of the delegation have been cordially greeted everywhere by the labor and soldier collectives. In talks with soldiers and commanders mutual information has been exchanged about construction of the two armies and the successes in combat and political training.

"Our visit was brief, but we have gained wonderful impressions," Col Gen Guo Linxiang said. "We were able to convince ourselves that the Bulgarian people have achieved remarkable successes under BCP leadership. We also noted the high ideological-political conviction and consciousness of your soldiers. Your army has much positive experience, especially in the ideological-educational work with the soldiers and commanders. Now our people and party, rallied around the CPC policy, are making efforts to successfully solve the issues of socialist construction. Our positions are sincere and cordial. We would be happy if a delegation of the Bulgarian People's Army were to visit China. On my behalf, and on behalf of the PLA soldiers I greet the Bulgarian soldiers and commanders on their holiday. I wish the Bulgarian people and their valiant armed defenders prosperity and happiness."

The official PLA delegation led by Col Gen Guo Linxiang, deputy head of the PLA Main Political Administration, which visited Bulgaria at the invitation of the Ministry of National Defense and the Main Political Administration of the Bulgarian People's Army has departed from the country.

Partizdat Publishes Book of Gorbachev Speeches

AU2609200189 Sofia BTA in English 1805 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Text] Sofia, September 26 (BTA)—"Leninist Vanguard of Restructuring" is the title of the latest book published by "Partizdat" consisting reports, speeches and interviews of Mr Mikhail Gorbachev, secretary general of the CC [Central Commitee] of the CPSU and president of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. The edition is made up of the most important speeches and statements Mr Gorbachev made in the period July 1988 to February 1989. They formulate the basic directions of the revolutionary changes in all spheres of life in the Soviet country.

A lot of the materials are devoted to mankind's global problems, the most important of which is the conservation of environment.

Zhivkov Greets International Womens Conference

AU2609135889 Sofia BTA in English 1233 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Text] Sofia, September 26 (BTA)—The Fifth World Trade Union Conference on Issues Related to Working Women was opened in this capital city. It was organized by the World Federation and the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions. The forum slogan is "Working Women and Trade Unions: Common Prospects and Future, New Challenges and Tasks."

The major aim of the conference is to draw a balance on what has been achieved over the last decade as a result of the struggles of working women and trade unions for removing the gravest aspects of discrimination of women and resolving their social problems. The most pressing issues related to women's labour in the modern world will be discussed. It is expected that a chart on the economic, social, cultural and trade union rights of working women will be adopted and modernized, as well as a programme on the specific trade union actions in this respect.

Mr Ibrahim Zakariya, secretary general of the World Federation of Trade Unions was present at the opening of the conference.

Mr Petur Tanchev, first vice president of Bulgaria's State Council, read a greeting message to the participants in the forum on behalf of Mr Todor Zhivkov.

"Allow me on behalf of the State Council of Bulgaria and on behalf of myself to welcome you and wish you success in your responsible work.

"In our country you will meet not only the traditional Bulgarian hospitality but complete understanding about women's equality for the establishment of useful conditions for her development as a personality and her manifestation as a mother, worker and social figure. Today's world poses before you new problems which the whole of our people with the active contribution of the Bulgarian women is successfully solving, to turn Bulgaria into highly developed and highly cultural socialist country.

"The woman occupies an ever stronger position in the life of peoples. You, the representatives of a multy-million strong army of working women in the world are called upon to discuss the global problems, related to the development of democracy, to the observance of human rights and social progress.

"Our time is difficult and full of questions and challenges. It requires new approaches, solutions and actions. It is necessary that we part with the existing stereotypes and prejudices, and cooperate in the name of common humane aims: to safe [as received] man and humankind. The new political thinking is making its way to become a style of existence in our common home: our planet.

"We are all facing a sacred aim: to make the millenial but vulnerable and fragile human home more secure more cosy and more worthy, with greater material goods and intellectual values, with conditions for versatile development of the personality of women, men and children from all countries, regions and continents.

"I wish you, your families and children once again successful work, health and peaceful sky, secure and constructive today and tomorrow."

Consular Consultations Held With Yemen

AU2509191489 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 25 Sep 89

[Text] Consular consultations between Bulgaria and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen took place at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Bilateral consular relations were reviewed and the prospects of their development and strengthening on a contractual-legal basis were discussed.

Yordanov Receives Auto Club Representatives

AU2609221689 Sofia BTA in English 1802 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Text] Sofia, September 26 (BTA)—Mr Georgi Yordanov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of Bulgaria, today received the leaders of the delegations of Bulgaria, Greece, Romania and Yugoslavia which are taking part in the 16th conference of the Balkan Countries' Automobile Organizations.

The participants in the meeting underlined the importance of the exchange of experience and cooperation among the automobile drivers, by which they contribute to the strengthening of mutual confidence both in the Balkans and in Europe.

The representative of the International Alliance of Tourism Guerman Stoikovich also attended the meeting.

New Academic Year in Army Previewed

AU2709152289 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 25 Sep p 2

[Unattributed article: "New Approach to Marxist-Leninist Training"]

[Excerpts] A few days remain until the beginning of the Army's new academic year. It will begin during days of a nationwide upsurge in accelerating the processes of renewal in all spheres of our society, including the military collectives.

Correctly organizing, planning, and implementing the Army's political training will continue to have great importance in achieving good results and in increasing combat skills during the year. Now is the time to draw a precise assessment of the results of restructuring and

determine what changes must be made in Marxist-Leninist training. At the present stage, political training in the Army must guarantee the participation of the personnel in strengthening and accelerating restructuring and the raising of training and the troops' combat readiness to a qualitatively new level. [passage omitted]

What are the new elements in the system of Marxist-Leninist training during the 1990 academic year?

Unlike previous years, training will be conducted according to three democratized study plans. Subject plans No. 1 and No. 2 preserve also during the current year the four directions, which include topical issues of the party's socioeconomic and military policy; issues of military theory and practice; issues of training and education; and ideological work at the present stage. Plan No. 1 envisages subjects that allow the elimination of cliches and the utilization of new and active forms such as discussion, creative conversation, and round-tables. Another new element is the fact that based on a decision by the political organs and according to this plan, the number of groups trained according to the special seminar method can increase. It is their right to change certain subjects and the allocation of time to the lectures and seminars according to the specific tasks implemented by the units. The number of the political organs' available training hours has been significantly increased.

In order to further democratize ideological work, the Main Political Administration of the Bulgarian People's Army proposes to the commanders and political organs that they establish, based on their assessment, groups for conducting training on the basis of the independent work method. Such groups could be created in addition to the those that are being trained according to the seminar and special seminar method. A large part of senior staff officers have high ideological-political and general training, and demonstrate professional interest in various issues of Marxist-Leninist science and practice. Therefore, through independent training, the soldiers can master separate issues of party theory and policy at the present stage in a deeper and more extensive manner. In this context, it would be beneficial to train them according to a personal plan, approved by the group leader, in which, based on their own selection, they can include the study of 2-3 topical issues. Scientific-practical conferences, discussions, and roundtable discussions related to issues that have been studied or researched could be conducted during these groups academic year, on the basis of the political organs' assessment. Thus, the skill of the officers to make bold and purposeful conclusions about their direct work and the level of improving their military-professional ability will be demonstrated.

The two subject plans for the officers and the petty officers-cadets of the Bulgarian People's Army have also been significantly changed and democratized. The plans allow those undergoing training to themselves select the subject issues in accordance with their interests and the needs of the theoretic studies. The right to select stems from the great variety and diversity in the subjects included in the plans. Political organs must demonstrate greater creativity, responsibility, and professional skill in planning the selection of subjects in accordance with the interests of those undergoing training and the tasks implemented by the troops. The study plans are uniform, however, in every group and unit—they must be implemented according to their own specific characteristics, while allowing the participants to fully express themselves in the process of training. [passage omitted]

Politburo Approves New Weekly Party Journal

AU2609205089 Sofia BTA in English 1841 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Text] Sofia, September 26 (BTA)—The Politburo of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] approved a resolution on the publication of a new magazine, organ of the Central Committee of the party "SUVREMENEN POKAZATEL" (present-day index). As of the beginning of 1990, it will be published every week. The title of the magazine was borrowed from an older edition "SUVREMENIY POKAZATEL", the first issue of which was published on June 1, 1885 and was edited by Dimitur Blagoev, the founder of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Workers Party.

The new magazine will be addressed to the whole party and all the society and in publicist, popular forms it will treat the problems of the political, organizational and ideological work of the party. Besides analytical publications, it will run materials and documents giving publicity to the activity of the party bodies, including the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, and to results of sociological studies.

The magazine will be made on the basis of modern technology and will have colour covers. Mr Lalyu Dimitrov, chairman of the Union of Bulgarian Journalists, has been appointed editor-in-chief of the magazine.

More on GDR Refugees in FRG Embassy in Prague

GDR-FRG Negotiations Continue

LD2709130789 Hamburg DPA in German 1225 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Text] Prague (DPA)—The number of GDR citizens in the FRG Embassy in Prague seeking to obtain entry to the FRG grew to nearly 1400 by noon today. This was learned from informed circles in the Czech capital.

At the embassy, negotiations between the GDR lawyer Wolfgang Vogel, representatives of the FRG, and the would-be emigres continued today. As was learned, Vogel repeated his offer of the previous day that those GDR citizens who leave the embassy building and return to the GDR will be granted free emigration to the West within 6 months. However, only some 200 GDR citizens took up this offer yesterday.

Thus, since last night, some 500 GDR citizens have again climbed over the fence of the closed embassy. The situation in the tents set up for the refugees in the garden of the embassy is getting more and more difficult in view of the dropping autumn temperatures.

'Some' Refugees Leave for Home

LD2709220189 Prague Television Service in Slovak 1830 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Text] Today you telephoned us and asked us what is the situation in the FRG Embassy in Prague. This is why our crew made a trip there late this afternoon.

As you can see from our shots made near the garden of the FRG Embassy today at 5 p.m. [local time], the embassy compound is overflowing with GDR citizens, including young children. According to official information granted to us at that time by Mr (Steiner), embassy press attache, representatives of the FRG and GDR Governments met in the FRG Embassy yesterday and today to discuss this question. Messrs Suedhoff, Priesnitz, and Bertele from the FRG and Prof Vogel, the lawyer from the GDR, also spoke to the GDR citizens in the embassy. On this basis some GDR citizens set off for the journey back home.

FRG-CSSR Ministers Meet for Talks

LD2709215289 Prague CTK in English 2028 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Text] Prague Sept 27 (CTK)—Czechoslovak first deputy-minister of foreign affairs Pavel Sadovsky received here today state secretary of FRG foreign minister [as received] Jurgen Suthoff at his request.

The two officials exchanged opinions on the way of solving the situation caused by the unpermitted stay of GDR citizens at the premises of the FRG embassy in Prague.

Pavel Sadovsk pointed out the necessity of a prompt solution of this problem on the basis of respecting GDR citizenship and valid international agreements. He pointed out that solving this problem is a matter of both German sovereign states.

Situation in Prague 'Intensifies'

LD2809085489 Hamburg DPA in German 0755 GMT 28 Sep 89

[Text] Prague (DPA)—The situation in the Bonn embassy in Prague has drastically intensified in the last 24 hours. According to DPA's information, several hundred additional GDR refugees have arrived in the mission since Wednesday evening. Around 2,000 GDR citizens in all are now in the embassy.

A large proportion of the new arrivals are said to be soccer fans who traveled to the CSSR on Wednesday for a European Cup game.

The flow of GDR refugees via Hungary to the west continues as before.

[Hamburg DPA in German at 0443 GMT on 28 September transmits a similar report on the GDR refugee situation and adds the following: "The flow of GDR refugees via Hungary to the West continued last night. The federal border protection registered 273 GDR citizens who had come via Hungary and Austria by bus and train to the Federal Republic." "Since the opening of the Hungarian border on 11 September around 23,000 mostly young people have turned their backs on the GDR."]

Stepan, U.S. Scientists Hold Talks

LD2709234189 Prague CTK in English 1226 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Text] Prague Sept 27 (CTK)—Czechoslovak communist Party Presidium member and chairman of the Federal Assembly House of the People Foreign Affairs Committee Miroslav Stepan received here today a delegation of U.S. scientists led by Professor Richard Cooper.

The scientists participate in the second Czechoslovak-U.S. round table conference on economic and political relations, organized by the Czechoslovak academy of sciences.

Stepan appreciated the good ties between scientists and experts of the two countries and said that deputies of the legislative bodies will also play an important role in further promotion of the two countries' relations.

The members of the delegation called for a permanent and open international dialogue, and were interested also in some topical problems of Czechoslovakia's internal foreign policy.

Jackson Hole Meetings 'Very Productive'

AU2809113889 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 26 Sep 89 p 7

[Josef Nyvlt commentary: "Looking For Starting Points"]

[Text] Very comprehensive and very productive—that is the briefest way of characterizing the 3-day meeting which took place between the Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze and American representatives at the end of last week. Its course and results are a further testimony to the change which has come about in mutual relations since November 1985 when M. Gorbachev met for the first time with then American President Reagan. Now an agreement has been reached on setting the dates for another Soviet-American summit meeting—the end of spring or the beginning of summer next year. This is one of the most important agreements for the development of dialogue between both countries which was reached during Shevardnadze's talks.

As is well known, since the agreement on the elimination of medium and shorter range missiles was signed, a palpable stagnation has set in, a stagnation caused, first and foremost, by the changes in the White House and by changes to the composition of the American administration. The strategy, of course, has not changed, but the scale of values and priorities has been and is being reevaluated. Prior to Shevardnadze's visit, the lengthy formulation of the Bush administration's foreign policy ideas had been subject to severe criticism in Congress.

The most significant result of the current Soviet-American talks is the hope that the apparently insoluble differences in the approach to reducing the level of strategic nuclear weapons by 50 percent can be overcome. This problem has gradually been pushed to the edge of the Bush administration's interests. The new Soviet initiatives—to make agreement contingent neither on talks on space weapons nor on sea-launched cruise missiles and to agree on limits in these spheres separately (while respecting the 1972 anti-ballistic missile defense treaty); the skeleton agreement on verification measures; and its readiness to dismantle the Krasnoyarsk radar—have created scope for finding starting points and for bringing the signing of a final document closer. Despite the attempt by some U.S. political circles not to make any concessions in anything and to strive for unilateral advantages, the American proposal to negotiate on mobile strategic missiles has also contributed to joint interest.

A considerable convergence of views has also come about in attitudes to conventional and chemical weapons and on verifying nuclear tests. Substantial differences remain but it is apparent that they are not insurmountable.

The greatest inertia is manifested in American appraisal of regional conflicts where, in spite of forthcoming Soviet initiatives (for example, in relation to Afghanistan and Nicaragua), unrealistic attempts to assert hegemonistic demands still prevail.

The specific results of the 3-day Soviet-American talks will be evaluated in the ensuing weeks and months. Not only within the framework of the disarmament talks but also in the struggle against terrorism, drugs, and in cooperating on environmental protection.

Before the start of the talks in Jackson Hole, E. Shevardnadze said that it is high time to shift from an exchange of views to joint acts. The comprehensive nature and the productivity of the talks have undoubtedly contributed to this aim.

Jakes Meets With National Front Party Figures

LD2709201589 Prague CTK in English 1924 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Text] Prague Sept 27 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes met here today representatives of other political parties associated in the National Front.

The meeting was attended also by Czechoslovak People's Party Chairman Zbynek Zalman, Socialist Party Chairman Bohuslav Kucera, Slovak Reconstruction Party Chairman Jozef Simuth and Slovak Freedom Party Chairman Kamil Brodziansky.

Milos Jakes stressed that the CPCZ makes efforts for main congress documents to be discussed by the public, all political parties and organizations associated in the National Front, adding that the party will favourably accept and consider all constructive remarks and proposals to these documents.

He pointed out increasing the parties responsibility for further development of socialist society, stressing the necessity to make fuller use of capabilities of its members in their functions in the national front, state and economic bodies in all spheres of the society.

Political parties representatives appreciated the fact that, in keeping with the document on activation of the national front and organizations associated in it, better prerequisites are being created for the parties' larger participation in policy making, realization and control. They set out ways how they want to contribute to the solution of topical issues of the whole society and appreciated the CPCZ' intentions to deepen relations and broaden cooperation with other parties and presented suggestions for improving common activities in the National Front and its bodies.

Stoph Welcomes U.S.-USSR Arms Agreement

LD2709132989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1841 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—In Berlin today GDR Prime Minister Willi Stoph welcomed the latest arms control agreements between the USSR and the United States.

It is now a matter of achieving global steps in the disarmament process through joint efforts by all forces of reason and realism. Among these steps are a reduction in strategic offensive weapons, the elimination of chemical weapons, and a reduction in conventional weapons.

In a discussion with Denmark's Environment Minister Lene Dybkjaer, Stoph explained that the GDR regards environment policy as a firm component of its policy of peace, which aims at averting the dangers of a nuclear inferno, at creating a system of international security, and worldwide detente.

Minister Dybkjaer agreed that only in peace are there conditions for carrying out the rational use and protection of natural resources within national and international frameworks.

Both sides pointed to good bilateral cooperation in the environment. This had a positive influence on the progress of the CSCE process. Particularly important are contacts between the two countries' experts regarding the exchange of scientific and technical information and experience, in particular on aspects of maintaining the purity of the air and protecting forests and waters.

Minister Dybkjaer arrived in the GDR yesteday and had talks with her counterpart, Dr Hans Reichelt. Today in the Cottbus Area, a center of the GDR's coal and energy sector, she familiarized herself with environmental protection in this region.

'Positive Effects' Seen

LD2809090389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0224 GMT 28 Sep 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—"After the speech by U.S. President Bush before the full UN Assembly one should be able to proceed from the fact that Washington is ready to accept a global ban on all chemical weapons, the destruction of stocks within 10 years and effective controls on this", the GDR newspaper NEUES DEUTSCHLAND emphasizes in a commentary on Thursday. The Soviet Union proposed, even before the convening of the convention on the worldwide ban, a mutual obligation of the two great powers to produce no such weapons, to radically reduce them or completely destroy them, and to view this as a step towards the comprehensive destruction of chemical weapons.

"There is no doubt that such a joint step from the USSR and the United States would have positive effects—for the speedy conclusion of the convention on the universal ban at the negotiations in Geneva, for the continuation of the disarmament process in toto and not least for the general climate in international relations. There is however no doubt either that a corresponding step in the center of Europe could be an extraordinary support for these efforts to the great powers," the paper writes. The proposal from the governments of the GDR and the CSSR, to create, on the path toward a global chemical weapons ban, a zone in central Europe which would already be free of these weapons, is on the table. Forces interested in continued arming are already proceeding to eradicate the chance which has arisen to eliminate this weapons category.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND concludes: "Whoever wants to truly eliminate them and thereby the terrible dangers which their existence signifies in times of peace as well precisely for the people in densely populated Europe, that person is now called upon. Our offer to the FRG for negotiations is still available."

Fischer Talks With Ugandan, Danish Ministers

LD2709161789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2050 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Text] UN/New York (ADN)—GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer had talks on Tuesday on the fringes of the UN General Assembly with the foreign ministers of Uganda and Denmark, and with other people. During these meetings, stress was laid on the interest in the stable continuation of the political, economic, cultural and scientific-technological cooperation between the GDR and the relevant states. This will serve the peaceful coexistence of the states and peoples. At the same time, a note of concern was sounded in these talks about the attacks on detente and the political-territorial postwar order in Europe.

Dr Paul Kawanga Ssemogerere, the Ugandan foreign minister, stressed in his meeting with Oskar Fischer the fact that the African states see the GDR as a reliable partner on their path to independence.

Danish Foreign Minister Uffe Ellemann-Jensen reaffirmed his country's interest in the stable continuation of the CSCE process and paid tribute to the GDR's constructive approach to the shaping of relations with his country. Kang Sok-chu, first deputy foreign minister of DPRK, discussed issues relating to developments on the Korean peninsula with the GDR foreign minister.

Oskar Fischer also exchanged views with representatives of Jewish organizations in the United States.

He was a guest at a dinner hosted by UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar in honor of the foreign ministers of socialist and Latin American states.

Genscher UN Remarks 'More Than Questionable'

LD2709201389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1645 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Excerpts] UN/New York (ADN)—The general debate continued today at the 44th UN General Assembly

[UNGA] where representatives of member states made statements of basic principle on the state of international relations.

Hans-Dietrich Genscher, foreign minister and vice-chancellor of the FRG, stated that the Helsinki final accords, the Basic Treaty on Relations Between the FRG and the GDR, as well as the joint statements by Helmut Kohl and Erich Honecker in 1985 and 1987, were significant elements of a European peace policy.

In complete contradiction to these documents, Genscher used the podium of the UNGA to preach to the GDR about its internal development. Genscher's statement that no one could want the destabilization of another, conference observers remarked, thus appeared more than questionable.

Fischer Meets Genscher

LD2809084689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0514 GMT 28 Sep 89

[Text] UN/NEW YORK (ADN)—GDR and FRG Foreign Ministers Oskar Fischer and Hans-Dietrich Genscher met for an exchange of views on the sidelines of the UN General Assembly in New York. They supported everything which is being done to make coexistence of states and peoples more safe by means of arms limitation, disarmament, and a policy of consistent transition from confrontation to cooperation in international relations.

They deemed it to be necessary to allow no break in the efforts to achieve disarmament regulated by treaties. Both politicians greeted the results of the most recent Soviet-U.S. talks and expressed hope for rapid disarmament negotiations oriented toward results. They held it to be necessary and possible to reach the first substantial agreements in the Vienna negotiations on the reduction of conventional troops and arms in the coming year.

The ministers underlined the interest of both states in the maintenance of stability and predictability in East-West relations.

Oskar Fischer stressed that disturbance-free relations between the GDR and the FRG are essential for a good climate in Europe. The FRG foreign minister underlined his government's great interest in the solution of humanitarian problems which have arisen. Foreign Minister Fischer pointed out that the GDR is prepared for constructive cooperation in this area as well, while adhering strictly to the principle of nonintervention. The talk passed in an objective atmosphere.

German Communist Party Delegation Visits

AU2709200289 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 26 Sep 89 p 2

[ADN report: "DKP Delegation in the GDR; Study Visit at Invitation of SED Central Committee"]

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—At the invitation of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], a delegation of the Presidium of the German Communist Party, headed by Heinz Stehr, member of the Presidium and the Secretariat, is visiting the GDR from 24-30 September. The delegation will acquaint itself with basic and topical questions of the SED's peace and social strategy for implementing the decisions of the 11th Party Congress. It will meet for talks with leading GDR scientists and above all become familiar with questions of mastering the scientific-technological revolution on behalf and for the benefit of the people.

A discussion in the Socialist Economic Management Central Institute attached to the SED Central Committee on further perfecting the planning and management of the national economy, as well as an exchange of information and experiences in the National Council of the Free German Trade Union Federation on the representation of interests by trade unions in the process of technological change are planned, among other things. In the Carl Zeiss Jena Combine State Enterprise the delegation will get to know the experiences and results of scientific-technological progress and the further development of democracy and humanism under socialist conditions.

Dresden SED Delegation Visits FRG

LD2709134989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1818 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Text] Stuttgart (ADN)—Talks with the Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD] state parliament group and the German Communist Party [DKP] regional executive and a visit to Karlsruhe University were on today's agenda of the delegation of the Dresden area Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Executive, led by its First Secretary Hans Modrow, an SED Central Committee member, which is paying a several-day visit to Baden-Wuerttemberg at the invitation of the Baden-Wuerttemberg SPD.

Hans Modrow addressed the SPD state parliament group on important aspects of the SED's domestic and foreign policy. If the realities that arose as a result of World War II and postwar developments in Europe and the sovereignty, territorial integrity, and independence of European countries within their present borders are attacked, Hans Modrow said, a real change toward peace and disarmament and toward detente and cooperation in the heart of Europe will be blocked. The preservation and consolidation of peace remains the supreme dictate for the SED and the GDR of all policy. The GDR wants, in agreement with the peace program of the Warsaw Pact states and with its own initiatives, to continue the disarmament process and make it irreversible. Because of this, the GDR also began to reduce its Armed Forces, unilaterally and independent of negotiations, and to give them an even stricter defensive character.

There is no interest in the GDR in a lapse back to the time of confrontation and the cold war. Heinz Modrow

stressed. But in view of the claim raised in the FRG about the solution of an "open German question" and the claim to have a "duty to care" for German citizens of other states, it is proving to be difficult to safeguard the policy of dialogue and detente. The political fuss being made in the FRG in this connection poisoned the political atmosphere and called into question that which had been achieved.

At a friendly meeting between Hans Modrow and Dieter Keller, chairman of the DKP regional executive, both sides stressed the need for the continuation of the process of detente and dialogue. Dieter Keller said that the visit by the SED delegation contributed to peace, disarmament, and detente.

Earlier, the delegation visited Karlsruhe University.

Honecker Receives Swedish, Sudanese Envoys

LD2709142189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1201 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, and Vidar Hellners, ambassador of the Kingdom of Sweden, assessed relations between the two countries as exemplary for relations between states with differing social orders and as a contribution to the peaceful coexistence of the peoples and states of Europe.

Erich Honecker received the Swedish ambassador today in order to accept his letter of accreditation.

The interlocutors praised the positive development of cooperation between both states, which has been given significant impulses through meetings between Erich Honecker and Olof Palme and Ingvar Carlsson.

The ambassador conveyed warm greetings from Swedish head of state King Carl XVI Gustaf, and from Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson, which were similarly reciprocated by Erich Honecker.

On the same day Erich Honecker received Dr Attala Hamad Bashir, ambassador of the Republic of Sudan, to accept his letter of accreditation. Erich Honecker thereby underlined the readiness of the GDR to continue bilateral cooperation on the basis of the agreements concluded.

Poland, CSSR, Romania To Join in Anniversary

LD2709221889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1620 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Wojciech Jaruzelski, president of the People's Republic of Poland; Mieczyslaw Rakowski, first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party Central Committee; and Krzysztof Skubiszewski, Polish foreign minister, will take part in the celebrations of the 40th anniversary of the GDR in Berlin, it was officially announced in Warsaw today.

The CSSR delegation to the celebrations will be led by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee.

Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, will head the Romanian delegation participating in the celebrations of the 40th anniversary of the GDR in Berlin.

Official Praises Work of Atomic Energy Agency

LD2609190389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1130 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Excerpt] Vienna (ADN)—In view of the importance of international cooperation for the further raising of security in the peaceful use of the nuclear energy, the GDR praises and supports the activities of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) to the best of its ability. It regards the international cooperation under the leadership of the IAEA as a useful and effective mechanism for achieving a consensus on the solution of current worldwide problems. This was stated by the head of the GDR delegation, State Secretary Professor Georg Sitzlack, at the plenum of the 33rd IAEA general conference in Vienna, which continued its session in Vienna on Tuesday.

Hence the GDR, Sitzlack said, has intensified its collaboration on issues of nuclear security in the IAEA, but also within the CEMA. In addition to many years of treaty-based relations with the USSR and the other CEMA states, in recent times bilateral agreements have been signed with the PRC and the PDRK. [passage omitted]

Bishop Calls on Catholics To Take Stand

AU2709232989 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 27 Sep 89 p 4

[KNA report: "GDR Catholics Should Adopt Position"]

[Text] Berlin, 26 September—In a pastoral letter, Bishop Braun, the Apostolic Administrator in Magdeburg, has called on the Catholics in his sphere of jurisdiction to adopt a position on the domestic policy and economic situation of the GDR and on the problem of emigration. "I encourage you to discuss in all your parish groups the matters which have affected us so much these days and to develop ideas and present proposals," the letter says, which was read at all Catholic services in the area of the Episcopate of Magdeburg on the weekend [23-24 September]. "Whether our opinion is wanted or not, we feel commanded by God to raise our voices and to participate in making sure that the helm is turned around before it is too late," the bishop wrote, who asked for written opinions by 10 October. Braun reported that he has already asked the "politically responsible authority" for a meeting and he has received "signals of readiness for such a talk."

"Gaps Everywhere"

The emigration of thousands of people from the GDR has not only endangered hospitals and social institutions, but gaps have been opened up everywhere, "which cannot be filled any more," the pastoral letter says. In all fields—among the workers, scientists, doctors, and artists—there "are fewer and fewer people." The bishop added: "And fewer and fewer people clearly means getting poorer." He criticized "some Western press reports in connection with the escape via Hungary," which harbor the danger of raising hopes among the people, which cannot be fulfilled in this way. However, he is "even more shocked" about how quickly the GDR press has formed an opinion, which is now offered as the "only valid answer," namely that the emigrants are all people who have been "lured away" and have fallen prey to the Western propaganda. In this connection, Braun stressed that in view of "many questions which have been arisen in our society for years and are still unanswered, in view of rampant resignation," many of these people have made the "conscious decision" to leave the GDR. In addition to such questions, for instance, the lack of freedom of movement, performance principle or private initiative, there are many everyday difficulties which make the GDR citizens "not only tired but also indifferent." In addition to the fear, for instance when going to the authorities, there is the "fear of being constantly evaluated in line with how one holds political discussions, which opinion one has on everyday political events, how one manages to fit in and to subordinate oneself while sticking out as little as possible, and how one joins this or that mass initiative even though there are other good alternatives." Braun requested the state authorities to give information about "the main reasons that make our fellow citizens apply for emigration and about which steps one intends to take to make it possible for these people to stay in the GDR." Concerning the necessary changes in the GDR, the letter says, among the things, that it must be possible to admit that people commit mistakes and that they can learn from their mistakes. "A group or a party, which claims that it is always right is incapable of dialogue and incapable of introducing reforms," the bishop wrote.

"Not Hungary's Path"

In Braun's view, in introducing reforms the GDR cannot copy the FRG and cannot "follow the path that is followed in the Soviet Union, in Hungary, or in Poland." "We have to look for a path that corresponds to us and that is supported by a broad stratum of the population," the pastoral letter says. The Catholic Church must not be interested in "being an opposition group just for the sake of opposition." However, the Catholics must be interested in "raising our voices whether developments emerge that are dangerous and lead us into a dead end." In a "healthy competition of opinions" the Catholics should try to achieve "honesty and credibility." They should also "look for talks with other Christians and with all people of goodwill."

Freedom Demonstration Called 'Anti-Socialist'

LD2709135389 Hamburg DPA in German 1306 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—The LEIPZIGER VOLKSZEITUNG has described the latest demonstration, when several thousand people called for freedom of opinion and reform on Monday evening, as "another riotous meeting with clearly a antisocialist tendency." The event was not authorized, was illegal, and held up traffic at times, the newspaper said on Monday. The paper mentions the "measured and restrained behaviour of the security forces." No figures were given for those involved.

Former SED official Rolf Henrich welcomed the fact that the East Berlin Ministry of the Interior withdrew the accusation of hostility toward the state during their talk with founders of the "New Forum" on Monday. "When 5000 GDR citizens have signed an appeal, then that is proof of social need", Henrich said in an interview with the TAGESZEITUNG. Of the accusation made by the East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG that the "New Forum" was hostile to the state and a "fifth column," Henrich said: "We have only called for dialogue. If that is hostile to the state, then this republic is finished."

The "New Forum", which also supports democratic renewal and is urging reforms within socialism, intends to work as a "citizens' political action group," a statement said on Tuesday.

Dohlus Says 'Great Demands' Made on Party

AU2709223089 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 22 Sep 89 p 3

[Unattributed report on speech by Horst Dohlus, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, at the conference on the tasks of the city party organizations in Karl-Marx-Stadt on 21 September: "Consistently and Solidly We Continue Our Clear and Safe Course for the Well-Being of the People"]

[Excerpts] Your conference is taking place at a time in which our people are preparing the 40th anniversary of the GDR, the party is getting ready for the 12th Congress of Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], and in which, at an international level, the conflict between socialism and imperialism has aggravated, Horst Dohlus said at the beginning of his closing address.

This is an era in which great demands are being made on the consistent and solid work of the party, in which everybody is called upon to give their best with their full strength to consolidate the GDR and prove their ideological steadfastness in turning away—wherever necessary—those forces that want to harm the GDR. [passage omitted]

In the GDR, socialism cares for everybody, it needs everybody, and opens for everyone a wide field for

creative participation in solving the tasks for the benefit of all and for every individual. Those who want to ignore this advantage and, blinded by illusions, forfeit it by taking thoughtless steps in a different direction, will very soon realize or have already realized into whose trap they have fallen.

We start from the assumption that our concept of developed socialist society is proving to be successful, but we also know that it is not yet completed. The SED has never made a secret of the fact that socialism has achieved considerable results for the people in our country, but that a few problems still have to be solved. [passage omitted]

The results of socialist construction in the GDR emphasize that our party has always creatively followed the generally valid laws of socialist revolution and socialist construction.

For us, this continues to include the maintenance of political power by the workers' class, which it exercises in alliance with all other working people; the leading role of the party; social ownership of the decisive means of production; socialist planned economy; and the dominating role of socialist ideology. We will continue to stick to all this consistently, while taking into account our country's particular national features, conditions, and requirements. [passage omitted]

To secure stable political and economic development and a high material and intellectual standard of living continues to be the central cause of the socialist countries.

It is in line with our joint principle that every party is responsible toward its people and country for the processes that take place there.

The ruling circles of imperialism obviously believe that, in view of emerging difficulties in the process of reshaping in some fraternal countries, "the chance of the century" has come, and that the balance of forces is favorable for large-scale "social revenge."

As we have been able to witness, our opponent is proceeding in a very differentiated way, and applies special recipes for anti-socialist and counterrevolutionary activities for every socialist country.

We start out from the diversity of paths of socialist construction, which have evolved from the national conditions of each country, and we further aim to develop relations with all socialist states.

We consider it our duty toward the international workers' class and the fraternal parties in the socialist countries to provide continuity and predictability at the sensible dividing line of the two world systems. With its strong socialism, its policy that is fundamentally guided by the well-being of the people, our republic constitutes a main obstacle and a tight barrier for the further implementation of imperialist plans.

This is the main reason for the unleashed vituperative and slanderous campaign by the FRG and other NATO states against the GDR, and for the increasing attempts to interfere in our domestic affairs. By means of this campaign they want to distract the attention of the international public from the questions and tasks of the struggle for peace, and divert people from socialism's offensive for peace.

Today the situation in the FRG is different from the situation 1 year ago. One cannot overlook the fact that a marked shift to the right has taken place there. The leading FRG parties agree in their attitude toward the GDR. The GDR is to be blackmailed into abandoning its proven course and introducing Western-style "reforms," and into renouncing the basic principles and values of socialism.

By activating fascist and Nazi forces, Bonn's official policy is stirring up both revanchism and chauvinism, calling for revision of the borders in Europe and the entire postwar order, and putting so-called "reunification" on the current political agenda. Those who have such ambitions are completely wrong, and all this kind of daydreaming will continue to be wishful thinking.

A firm class standpoint and understanding these connections are the best condition to render the hypocritical slogans of our class opponent ineffective.

We support the continuation of the policy of dialogue and predictability. All those who regard this as a weakness have to realize that they are wrong. In the future, too, we will continue to resolutely reject attacks by opponents of the GDR and their interference in our domestic affairs.

As far as the hysterical and obscure action is concerned that officials in Bonn and FRG media have carried out by luring away GDR citizens, the GDR has publicly expressed its opinion and even maintained it toward the Hungarian People's Republic.

Dohlus stressed: These spiteful slogans and machinations of imperialist forces and their media against socialism are not alien to us. During the more than 70 years since the Russian Revolution and the 40 years of the GDR they have always been a loathesome accompanying music to the struggle of the workers' class. Despite all this, we have successfully constructed socialism under cosmopolitan conditions.

In our work in the party and among the masses we must exert an even more effective influence to ensure that everybody can see clearly how things really are, what fundamental values socialism has provided for man, and that capitalism wants to distract attention from its severe, inhuman shortcomings.

It is and remains an undeniable truth that socialism has decisively changed the lives of 1.5 billion people in the world and liberated them from capitalist exploitation, that the imperialist colonial system has been abolished,

and that speculation on the part of the United States and others that the PRC might break away from socialism has come to nothing.

It is also an undeniable truth that today the peace program of socialism is having a real impact on the course of the world, which cannot easily be made irreversible, despite the resistance of all aggressive imperialist circles. [passage omitted]

Leaders Honor Collectives for Achievements

LD2509232889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1829 GMT 25 Sep 89

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—In the run-up to the 40th anniversary of the founding of the republic, more works collectives were honored for outstanding achievements today in the GDR. Members of the Politburo of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee, ministers, and trade union representatives presented banners of honor donated for the occasion. [passage omitted]

In the Lichtenberg heating and power station in Berlin, where the fourth stage in the plant's construction was handed over today, SED Politburo member Guenter Schabowski praised the commitment of power workers. They start from the premise "that what we do, we do for ourselves." That is the position of the type of fully fledged citizens that socialism needs.

In the presence of soldiers from an anti-aircraft missile brigade, Defense Minister Heinz Kessler pointed to NATO's arms build-up and said: "We will know how to determinedly protect and defend what was created through hard work by our revolutionary predecessors and by us all, and what was hard-won as the result of socialist construction." Nobody is allowed to reverse the socialist social order in the GDR, the achievements of the working people. "In the future too, our socialist states' initiatives for detente and disarmament, for the reduction of armed forces and of defense expenditure will always be accompanied by efforts to maintain defense capability at the necessary level," the minister said.

Warenshof, the former Soviet missile base, made it clear to everyone how, in socialism, disarmament immediately benefits the people and their well-being. Harry Tisch, member of the Politburo, and chairman of the Free German Trade Union Federation, said at this point. Peace, work, and social security are basic conditions for a humane existence.

Vice Premier Guenther Kleiber, member of the Politburo, stated in the Schwedt petrochemicals combine (Frankfurt bezirk), that the achievements of the chemical workers unequivocally show that a politically clear, economically demanding course is being infused with life. "Nothing and no one can pevent us, in this turbulent time of intensified antisocialist provocation and undisguised rabble-rousing, from continuing to safeguard political stability, high economic dynamism and social protection in our 40-year old state," he said. [passage omitted]

The practice-oriented research work carried out by the Gros Lusewitz institute for potato research (Rostock bezirk) was also acknowledged with a banner of honor, which SED politburo member Werner Krolikowski presented. The institute has hitherto developed 69 high-yield and virus-resistant strains of potato for its partners in GDR agriculture.

600 Slovak Refugees Appear in Budapest

LD2709161889 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Text] There is a new development in Hungarian refugee affairs. According to reports, refugees from Slovakia have also appeared in Hungary. The paper MAI NAP has the information that their number (? in Budapest) can be put at nearly 600. The Interior Ministry's Office for Refugee Affairs was able to confirm only that yesterday 30 refugees of Hungarian nationality, who had arrived from Czechoslovakia, were sent to Bicske in order to at least give them temporary accomodation at least.

Interior Official Comments

LD2709224789 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Text] MAI NAP has reported that some 600 Slovak refugees are in Budapest. Our colleague Peter Laszlo has phoned an official of the Refugee Department of the Interior Ministry, (Jozsef Veszeczki).

[(Veszeczki)] The Interior Ministry Refugee Department has no knowledge of the arrival of Czechoslovak citizens in such a large number in Hungary. We know that a group of about 30 people has been to the emergency station at Bicske, but they have since left the station. We do not have information on the composition and nationalities of the group.

[Laszlo] Is it conceivable that they will get political asylum in Hungary?

[(Veszeczki)] The Geneva refugee convention will come into force on 15 October. The applicant has to prove that he or she is persecuted in his country. If they submit these justifications, the department will decide on the merit of the information given.

[Laszlo] Since the news has spread that Hungary has also signed the Geneva refugee convention and its proclamation is imminent in our country, are there more and more people requesting political asylum at the Interior Ministry Refugee Department?

[(Veszeczki)] Yes, such requests have been submitted by foreigners. Turkish citizens staying and living in Austria as laborers and foreigners from Arab countries living in the GDR whose residence permits have expired have also tried submitting such requests.

[Laszlo] Are their requests judged favorably?

[(Vezseczki)] In the majority of cases, they will only get political asylum if, on the basis of the Geneva convention, they definitely prove they were persecuted in their country. This means that the majority of applications will probably not be judged as requests for refugee status. The applicants will perhaps be able to apply for a residence permit from the Hungarian authorities, but this does not come under the scope of authority of the Refugee Department.

Barabas on Ideological Meeting in Berlin

AU2709225089 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 23 Sep 89 pp 1,3

[Interview with MSZMP Central Committee Secretary Janos Barabas, member of the Political Executive Committee, by Pal Lederer; "A Patient Atmosphere Characterized the Conference—Janos Barabas Interviewed on the Ideological Conference in Berlin"—in Berlin, date not given]

[Text] The 2-day conference of ideological secretaries of the fraternal socialist parties ended in Berlin on 22 September with a joint press announcement. One of the current particular features of this conference that takes place each year was that, folowing the proposal of last year's conference, the Workers Party of Korea also participated this year.

The delegation of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] was led by Janos Barabas, who was received by Gunter Mittag, member of the Politburo of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], on 22 September. At their talks, the two officials also discussed the Hungarian proposals aimed at improving the cooperation between the two parties, and the GDR side received these proposals favorably. Janos Barabas gave a short interview for our Berlin correspondent about his impressions of the conference.

[Lederer] What was the atmosphere at the conference?

[Barabas] There was a patient and democratic atmosphere at the meeting, and the same characterized the informal discussions held in the recess and during the sessions; this is also noteworthy because quite different opinions and positions have emerged at the conference, in accordance with the domeestic situation of the individual parties and countries. As is well known, every country is in an extremely complex situation today, and the same situation characterizes the international conditions today. Individual parties differ in the way they are facing the emerging problems. The various speeches reflected well how deeply and courageously one is facing his own domestic problems, problems that, in the participants' view, derive from the same root. One could see that the Soviet, Polish, and Hungarian parties evaluate the international conditions and the domestic development of their countries more or less similarly; as for the theoretical and ideological approaches to the concept of socialism, the Soviet and Polish speeches were perhaps the closest to our approach.

[Lederer] One can notice a change in the leading role of the fraternal parties in some countries. How was this reflected at the conference?

[Barabas] The issue of the leading role of the party emerged in a different form than even 1 year ago, and therefore, precisely as a result of the Hungarian and Polish proposals, no such expression is mentioned in the joint press announcement. The formulation concerning the role of the parties reflects the Polish situation and the concept of the Hungarian party.

[Lederer] Has a dialogue emerged between the participants, or has everyone continued to present his own position?

[Barabas] According to the customary agenda, the delegation heads gave a short speech, but this time nobody has made use of the right to make supplementary speeches.

[Lederer] Have there been any real remarks criticizing Hungary?

[Barabas] Nobody mentioned us by name but, just like other parties, we could also understand some remarks as being directed at us.

[Lederer] What characterized the position of the hosts?

[Barabas] Great tolerance characterized their position. They did not want to exceedingly burden the conference with their own domestic situation and with discussing their strained relations with the FRG. The communique also reflects this.

[Lederer] It seems from all this that this conference was still characterized more by the old style than the new thinking.

[Barabas] Indeed, these conferences still have a strong imprint of the old style, even in their ritual. However, one could notice serious changes in the ideas. However, these conferences are not yet suitable for exchanges of views on a broad circle of lively theoretical and political issues, the difficulties and crises of some countries, on the reasons behind these difficulties, the shaping of individual party policy, and on the background of their policy.

[Lederer] When will these meetings be suitable for such exchanges of views?

[Barabas] This depends on the domestic development of individual countries. I hope that the style of a lively exchange of views will become stronger in the near future, perhaps already in Sofia next year.

Government Satisfied With Brussels Economic Plan

LD2809023289 Budapest MTI in English
1351 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 27, 1989 (MTI-Econews)—High-placed Hungarian government sources reacted warmly to the draft plan of action the EC commission tabled at the Brussels meeting of the G- 24 on Monday on proposed assistance to the reform processes in Hungary and Poland.

Mr Laszlo Antal, head of the Council of Ministers' secretariat in charge of economic policy, very much appreciated the gesture that statements on general political support were so swiftly followed by concrete proposals on financial and trade policy matters.

He spoke in particularly glowing terms about the idea of the EC's guaranteeing European investment bank loans.

The EC commission proposed that the general system of preferences (GSP) be extended to Poland and Hungary as of the beginning of 1990, and, without mentioning concrete dates, advised speeding up the removal of quantitative trade barriers.

In response to an Econews inquiry, a Ministry of Trade official said Hungary had requested the removal of quantitative restrictions on Hungarian exports to the EC from January 1, 1990. Although the EC proposal does not go quite as far as to accept that deadline, it is remarkable that it is at least giving consideration to the matter of bringing forward deadlines fixed in the 1988 agreement between Hungary and the EC.

Through the extension of the GSP, Hungary could gain an annual 10 million dollars in lower customs duties.

The Ministry of Trade official pointed out that the Hungarian Government memorandum submitted to the G-24 called on the EC to stop treating Hungary as a state-controlled trading nation and to strike a preferential agreement with Hungary. It is to be hoped these latter issues will also make it to the agenda later on, he added.

Straub Meets Portugal's Soares on Arrival

LD2809031889 Budapest MTI in English
2000 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 27 (MTI)—On Wednesday Mario Soares, president of the Republic of Portugal, arrived on an official visit to Budapest on the invitation of F. Bruno Straub, president of the Presidential Council.

Mr Soares was welcomed at Ferihegy Airport by F. Bruno Straub, Laszlo Kovacs, under-secretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Sandor Argyelan, Hungarian ambassador to Portugal. Zozimo Justo da Silva, ambassador of the Republic of Portugal to Hungary, was also present.

Reportage on National Assembly Session

Session Opens 26 Sep

LD2609130189 Budapest MTI in English
1117 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 26 (MTI)—After a recess of more than two months, the Hungarian National Assembly began its work again this morning with the

opening of the September session at 10 am. Speaker Matyas Szuros is in the chair.

MPs first paid a one-minute silent tribute to the memory of Janos Kadar. They also commemorated MPs Sarolta Raffai and Istvan Gajdocsi, who died since the last session.

Parliament then approved the resignations of MPs Dr Katalin Hamvas, Dr Pal Mondok and Dr Peter Varkonyi, and the mandates of new MPs Jozsef Debreczeni, Dr Erzsebet Fodor, Dr Gyula Marx, Erno Raffay, Gabor Roszik and Lajos Varga.

Gabor Roszik, MP, then delivered a brief speech on behalf of the newly-elected and approved MPs. In his maiden speech, Mr Roszik stressed the importance of the transition to democracy.

Parliament went on to approve the report of the Presidential Council on the work it has carried out since the last parliamentary session.

Speaker Matyas Szuros announced that, in accordance with the agreements reached at the trilateral political coordination talks, the government had submitted to parliament the bills of the so-called fundamental laws.

Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth was the next to take the floor.

Passes Penal Code Amendment

LD2709220389 Budapest MTI in English 1826 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 27 (MTI)—Parliament carried the proposed amendment to the penal code, together with modifications, with 305 votes for, 1 vote against and 5 abstentions in Budapest on Wednesday.

The bill concerning modification of the Law on Criminal Procedure was also adopted by a vote of 301 to 3 and 7 abstentions.

Details of New Penal Code

LD2709221389 Budapest MTI in English 2054 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 27 (MTI)—As reported, parliament carried laws on the amendment to the penal code and criminal procedures in Budapest on Wednesday. The new laws are aimed at adjusting the penal code and the criminal procedure to the transition preparing the new constitutional order. The amended penal code reinterprets the term of anti-state crimes, while the criminal procedure sets a limit to the coercive measure applied during criminal procedure, and strengthens procedure guarantees, personal freedoms and defence rights.

The new penal code considerably narrows the category of anti-state crimes, and includes a new type of crime, i.e. act of force against the constitutional order of the Hungarian People's Republic and any effort to seize power by force. The facts of rebellion, espionage and instigation are also reregulated. Previously, rebellion implied a mass disturbance directed at thwarting or weakening the state or social order, and now carries the implication of mass disturbance directly aimed at impeding the National Assembly, the Presidential Council, the Supreme Court or the Council of Ministers in exercising their constitutional rights or at forcing them to take measures. Espionage will carry penalty when a person carries out intelligence as a member of a foreign spy organization, or on its commission, against the interest of the Hungarian People's Republic or its allies.

In future, instigation for hatred in public will be considered a crime.

Under the new law on criminal procedure, issuing an order for custody under remand falls within the competence of the attorney until submission of the indictment. The person taken into custody or arrested on charges of a crime should be summoned to court within the shortest possible time.

Adjourns 27 Sep Session

LD2709221789 Budapest MTI in English 1931 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 27 (MTI)—The second day of the September session of Hungarian parliament ended in Budapest Wednesday evening with the discussion of interpellations.

Earlier in the day, parliament carried the bill on the provisional measures related to the coming into force of the laws on amending company profit tax and personal income tax with 304 votes for, 2 against and 3 abstentions. Previously, Finance Minister Laszlo Bekesi spoke briefly detailing the bill, and the president of the session informed MPs [Members of Parliament] that the Planning and Budget Committee agree with the proposal.

On Thursday the session is to continue with interpellations.

Session Resumes 28 Sep

LD2809092789 Budapest MTI in English 0840 GMT 28 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 28 (MTI)—The September session of the Hungarian National Assembly, which opened on September 26, continued its work on Thursday in Budapest with interpellations and questions. The scheduled questions of MPs [members of parliament] include that by MP Zoltan Kiraly from Csongrad County on the assets in the property and handling of social organizations, and the reply of the minister of finance.

The session is to also discuss personnel issues, and is expected to create a position condemning the Hungarian participation in the Czechoslovak intervention of 1968, and the proposal of Zoltan Kiraly, which calls for the complete withdrawal of foreign troops stationed in Europe.

FRG Refugee Situation in Warsaw Continues

Foreign Ministry Spokesman on Issue

LD2709175689 Warsaw PAP in English 1656 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 27—Polish and foreign journalists were acquainted at today's conference of the Foreign Ministry press spokesman Stefan Staniszewski with a statement that says in part that the formation of Mazowiecki's government composed of the main political forces represented in the parliament creates a new quality in the political life of the country. "This fact undoub edly influences also Poland's foreign relations. Polish foreign policy based on the continuity of the hitherto international obligations will be marked by credibility and openness to all the changes occurring in the world," the statement said.

The spokesman told the newsmen that the difficult problem of the GDR citizens staying in Warsaw and applying for emmigration visas to the FRG is well on its way to solution. Both German states that are directly concerned with this matter seem to approach agreement on the issue. "Poland, on its part, has been trying to the best of its ability to bring closer a solution that would meet constructive political and humanitarian criteria," added he.

Further From Spokesman

LD2709231689 Warsaw PAP in English 2144 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 27—Starting his today's press conference, spokesman of the Foreign Ministry Stefan Staniszewski read a statement saying in part that: "The new government that has gained the support of all the political forces in parliament and enjoys the popular support is a credible representative of Poland's interests in relations with foreign partners."

"The formation of the new government creates a chance for full realization of democratic transformations and deep economic reforms in Poland. Supporting them is the key task of Polish foreign policy for today and for tomorrow," the statement said.

The Foreign Ministry spokesman said also that the difficult problems of the GDR citizens in Warsaw who want to emigrate to the FRG is on a good path.

"Both German states directly involved in this issue seem to aim at reaching such an agreement that would take into account both the stances of the parties concerned and the humanitarian side of the issue," Staniszewski said.

"Poland, on its part, tried to the best of its ability to bring closer a solution that would meet the constructive political and humanitarian criteria," he said.

The newsmen were also interested in Polish-German relations. "I would like to emphasize that the FRG Government has given many official assurances that the problem of German unity is not on the agenda of the international politics at present. The GDR Government has also taken a univocal stance on this issue which should be taken into account by the international community," Staniszewski said.

The spokesman referred also to the upcoming 40th anniversary of the GDR and said: "We attach great importance in Poland to good, close relatons with the GDR. They are developing favourably. The existence and development of the GDR is important not only for Poland but for the equilibrium and stability in Europe and for the permanence of the territorial and political order on our continent. I think that a Polish delegation of the highest state level will participate in the celebrations marking the 40th anniversary of founding the GDR."

Answering questions on the upcoming visit of the king of Spain to Poland, the spokesman said in part that "the first visit of the head of the Spanish state in the history of Polish-Spanish relations will be an important event both in bilateral relations and on the international level."

"Warsaw and Madrid have established in recent years a very good system of political dialogue. The viewpoints of both states on the key issues for Europe and the world are convergent," commented he.

Discussing the issues of persons of Polish origin and Poles residing abroad, Staniszewski said that "Poland tries to help all Poles residing abroad in their contacts with their homeland, for this reason we accept double citizenship of Poles who have both the consular passport and the passport of the country of their permanent residence. However, the Constitution does not envisage double citizenship as for now."

Bonn Officials Arrive in Warsaw

LD2709181589 Hamburg DPA in German 1641 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Excerpt] Warsaw/Prague (DPA)—GDR lawyer Wolfgang Vogel arrived in Warsaw this afternoon to speak with the more than 400 GDR citizens wishing to emigrate, who, in the FRG Mission there, want to force their emigration to the West. Vogel, who first went to the GDR embassy, is expected in the FRG Mission this evening. This evening Bonn's Secretaries of State Juergen Suedhoff and Walter Priesnitz, and the head of Bonn's Permanent Mission in East Berlin, Franz Bertele, also arrived in the Polish capital. Those wishing to emigrate, most of whom are in accommodation outside of Warsaw, were fetched in buses. Evidently all of the refugees are to be given the opportunity of talking with the negotiators. [passage omitted]

GDR's Vogel Visits Warsaw Embassy

LD2709162689 Hamburg DPA in German 1502 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw (DPA)—The GDR lawyer Wolfgang Vogel arrived in Warsaw on Wednesday afternoon. He

was met at the airport by two officials from the Polish Foreign Ministry and a representative from the GDR Embassy. Vogel went first to the GDR Embassy in Warsaw. He was expected later in the FRG embassy. However, only about 100 of the far more than 400 GDR citizens who sought refuge are there. Most of them are in accommodation outside the embassy.

Refugees Refuse Vogel Visa Offer

LD2709193189 Hamburg DPA in German 1735 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Excerpt] Warsaw (DPA)—Like the refugees in Prague, GDR lawyer Wolfgang Vogel today proposed to the refugees in the Federal Republic's Embassy in Warsaw a guarantee of an exit visa within 6 months if they first return to the GDR. Vogel spoke with the GDR citizens in several separate groups. Participants in one of the discussions reported that none of the refugees took up the offer. When Vogel said he wanted to talk with those who were prepared to return, they all left the hall.

The refugees said that they were not put under any pressure to accept the offer. The head of the Federal Republic's Permanent Mission in East Berlin, Franz Bertele, spoke after Vogel and gave assurances that so far he Vogel had kept all the promises he had made. [passage omitted]

Further on Foreign Minister's UN Meetings

'Personally' Thanks Genscher

LD2709192189 Hamburg DPA in German 1646 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Text] New York (DPA)—On Wednesday, Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski personally thanked his German counterpart Hans-Dietrich Genscher for his position concerning the Polish western border. Immediately after Genscher's speech to the UN the non-party law professor approached the Federal foreign minister and spoke of "moving words."

In his speech, the FRG foreign minister had diverted from the script to address Skubiszewski personally. The two ministers have arranged a first exchange of views for Friday on the sidelines of the United Nations General Assembly.

Meets Baker, Arens in NY

LD2809021189 Warsaw PAP in English 1723 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Text] New York, Sept. 27—Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski met U.S. Secretary of State James Baker here. The two discussed the main elements of Polish-U.S. political and primarily economic relations.

The U.S. secretary of state voiced great appreciation for political reforms introduced in Poland. He assured Skubiszewski about the readiness of the U.S. Government to positively examine Polish economic postulates, including support for Poland's stand in negotiations with the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the Paris Club.

The Polish minister met also Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Arens to discuss bilteral relations and prospects for their development.

The Polish foreign minister had talks also with president of the 44th session of the U.N. General Assembly Gen. Josep Garba to discuss questions linked to the course of the present U.N. session. Minister Skubiszewski stressed Poland's broad support for the U.N. and the will of the Polish delegation to contribute to the success of the 44th U.N. General Assembly session.

The Polish minister is to meet U.N. Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar and Dutch Foreign Minister Van Den Broek today.

Talks With Perez de Cuellar

LD2809021289 Warsaw PAP in English 2208 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Text] New York, Sept. 27—Poland's Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski met Wednesday with U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar to discuss some aspects the favourably developing cooperation between Poland and the U.N.

Minister Skubiszewski expressed appreciation and support for the activity of the secretary-general, mainly in helping ease the international tension and regulate regional conflicts.

The secretary-general stressed his great sympathy, understanding and support for the process of transformations and for the activities of the Polish Government.

At noon, Minister Skubiszewski met with representatives of the ABC TV network management.

Finance Minister Continues Meetings in U.S.

Meets With IMF Board, Snowcroft

LD2809015489 Warsaw PAP in English 1453 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Text] Washington, Sept. 27—Polish Deputy Premier and Minister of Finance Leszek Balcerowicz met here on Wednesday with International Monetary Fund's managing director and head of the board of executive directors Michel Camdessus. Balcerowicz is attending the annual session of the IMF and the World Bank. The deputy premier also met yesterday with the U.S. President's chief security adviser General Brent Scrowcroft.

All officials with whom the Polish deputy premier spoke with expressed interest in Polish affairs, in the scope of implemented reforms and in the needs in the field of external aid in the sphere of finance and economy.

British Chancellor of the Exchequer Nigel Lawson stressed that there is a need for a prompt arrangement with the IMF of the adjustment programme and that all major world actions must be ready to support this programme with appropriate financial aid, especially in form of long-term rescheduling of Poland's debt towards the Paris Club. Lawson also pointed to the importance of foreign investments in Poland.

Polish affairs were also discussed at the prestigious forum "Atlantic Council of the U.S.A." affiliating politicians, scientists and businessmen. The panel debates, attended by Professors Witold Trzeciakowski and Klemens Szaniawski and New York financier George Soros, were chaired by Helmut Sonnefeld, former U.S. President Richard Nixon's deputy security adviser, outstanding expert on East European countries and the Soviet Union.]

Trzeciakowski said that Poland needs considerable financial means in form of credits and aid arguing that the sum of 10 billion dollars included several months ago in a proposal later termed as the "Trzeciakowski plan" is entirely justified and realistic. The success of reform in Poland will depend on the government's determination and sufficient Western aid. Problems facing reformers are enormous.

Prof. Trzeciakowski also stressed the importance of speedy work warning at the same time that the patience of poles has its limits. Szaniawski said that an economic collapse threatens political reforms.

George Soros said that the planned transformation of Poland's economy is unprecedented, however the speaker added that conditions must be created for foreign investments in Poland.

Addresses IMF Meeting

LD2809020489 Warsaw PAP in English 2004 GMT 27 Sep 89

[By PAP corespondents Jerzy Gorski, Tadeusz Jacewicz]

[Text] Washington, Sept. 27—Wednesday was Polish day at the annual conference of the international Monetary Fund and the World Bank. Poland's Minister of Finance Leszek Balcerowicz delivered a speech on Polish reforms and expectations associated with foreign assistance, which was followed keenly.

Balcerowicz presented a program of Polish economic reforms and the significance of their success for Poland and the international community.

"We are totally aware that the reforms undertaken in the past were not sufficiently complex to be able to bring about greater results. Loosening the centralized control of the economy did not result in a significant improvement of the distribution of means but led to a loss of financial discipline this year," Balcerowicz told the conference.

The most important steps which will be taken in the coming months within the framework of the stabilization plan are:

—A considerable cut in the budget deficit,

—Strict control of credit lending and introduction of market-based interest rates,

—Establishment of a realistic exchange rate of the zloty against hard currencies,

—Stopping or lowering a majority of subsidies and elimination of administrative control of a majority of prices,

—Linking the prices of domestic raw materials and commodities to world prices,

—Adjusting wage increases to the capacities of the economy.

At the end of his address Vice Premier Balcerowicz presented the main points of financial assistance, the introduction of which Poland awaits immediately:

—Speedily reaching agreement with the IMF on standby credits for Poland,

—Speedily reaching agreement with the World Bank on a structural adjustments loan,

—Multi-pronged stabilization loan from developed industrial countries to assist Poland in building up international reserves and stabilizing the value of the Zloty,

—Payment concessions in the servicing of Poland's debt next year and speeding up talks aimed at permanently easing the country's debt owed to the Paris Club and private banks.

"These are not exaggerated expectations. Their fulfilment is in the best financial and political interest of the international community," concluded Balcerowicz.

Gives News Conference on Economy

LD2809020689 Warsaw PAP in English 2324 GMT 27 Sep 89

[By PAP correspondents Jerzy Gorski and Tadeusz Jacewicz]

[Text] Washington, Sept. 27—Several dozen American and foreign journalists today attended a press conference in the Polish Embassy in Washington at which Poland's Vice-Premier and finance Minister Leszek Balcerowicz, minister Witold Trzeciakowski and Vice-Minister of Finance Janusz Sawicki answered questions on the Polish economy moving into a market one, the removing of obstacles and creating favourable conditions for private enterprise, and changes in the property structure in the economy.

The new system will not mean a complete rejection of the previous one. Some favourable elements will be

maintained, as for instance, facilitations for private businesses. Poland lacks everything today except for enterprising people, Balcerowicz said.

The Polish economy is connected with the Soviet Union by numerous ties. Poland gets raw materials and fuels from the USSR. We are neighbours and it is obvious that neighbours do business with each other. Such relations need stability. There are various concepts of settling accounts but no decisions have been made yet. It is known, however, that economic relations between Poland and the Soviet Union will be based on a purely commercial basis.

Poland needs about half a billion U.S. dollars still this year to cover imports of raw and intermediate materials, pharmaceuticals, etc. Next year, Poland will need a stabilizing loan amounting to about one billion U.S. dollars, Leszek Balcerowicz said and expressed hope that an agreement with the IMF would be signed before the end of December and Poland would get a standby credit.

Asked about Poland's attitude towards her creditors, Vice-Minister Sawicki out a unilateral moratorium. [sentence as received]

Jaruzelski, Baker Greet Parliamentarians in Warsaw

AU2709123989 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 22 Sep 89 p 2

[PAP report: "International Conference of Parliamentarians—Message From the Polish President"]

[Text] Friday 22 September 1989 sees the opening of an international conference in Warsaw which has as its theme: "The Role of Parliaments in the Shaping of National Economic Policy." The conference organizer is the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs [name as given], in Washington. The conference will be attended by many parliamentarians from Western Europe, as well as representatives of the Polish Sejm and Senate. The co-chairmen of the American delegation are Walter Mondale, former vice president of the United States; and Howard Baker, a former leader of the majority in the U.S. Senate.

On Thursday 21 September, in the evening, there was a meeting of all conference participants with representatives of the Polish Parliament. Andrzej Stelmachowski, marshal of the Senate was present.

Jozef Czyrek, secretary of state in the office of the president, conveyed a message from President Jaruzelski to all the participants of the conference.

The president conveyed his regrets that owing to the fact that he was not in Warsaw at this particular time, he was not able to greet the meeting participants in person. He recalled the fact that Warsaw had previously hosted many parliamentary representatives of all countries—participants of the CSCE. He also recalled that Poland was an active member of the Interparliamentary Union. He stressed that the shape of democracy in Poland was still evolving, but nevertheless, it was quite apparent that Poland, as it had been at the time of the famous 3 May Constitution in 1791, had become the precursor of many democratic changes in the socialist camp. As before, it was trying to introduce a socioeconomic system which would be appropriate to its raison d'etat, and which would be appropriate to its national interests and aspirations.

Wojciech Jaruzelski stressed in his message to the conference participants that the tasks facing Poland were enormous, but the Polish people were known for their patriotism, their industry, and determination. The president stressed he had no doubts that the democratic process in Poland would lead to positive results. The restoration and development of the Polish economy was the topmost priority of the Polish government. All the social and political forces had to cooperate in the name of the superior interests of the nation and the Polish state. The president expressed his belief that the experience of the parliamentarians of the various countries in the sphere of economic politics, would be useful to the Polish Parliament in their endeavors to restore the Polish economy. He assured the parliamentarians that Poles were open to all suggestions which would help to restore Poland, as there was no greater aim other than the good of Poland.

Howard Baker, in his address to all those assembled, expressed his delight in being able to welcome participants to the conference now taking place in Warsaw. It was, he said, a measure of the changes that had happened in Poland. He indicated that the conference was not called to teach the Poles how to rebuild their parliamentary system. Its purpose was to share experiences and to pay homage to those brave people whose personal endeavors had ensured that the present changes in Poland had become reality.

Paper Publishes Lithuanian Pole's Complaint

AU2709195389 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 25 Sep p 6

[Letter from an unidentified Pole living in Lithuania]

[Text] For 50 years you chose to ignore the fact of our existence and now you wish to make political capital out of our situation.

For 50 years we have had to sweep the streets. Our social standing in the community is comparable to that of the local gypsies. Difficulties are placed in our way when we want to enter higher education institutions and we are told to go and study in Poland. For every 1,000 people there are 200 Lithuanians with higher education qualifications. For the Polish community that number works out to be 32. Predominantly Polish regions receive 50 percent less funding from the budget of the Lithuanian republic than do Lithuanian regions, and due to this state of affairs the Polish peasant has to work that much harder.

Lithuanian church authorities refuse to accept Poles to their seminaries, the reason for their refusal being that the Polish applicants have a weak knowledge of the Lithuanian language.

The Karaites [Jewish sect], however, of whom there are about 300, receive everything they desire. The Lithuanians then claim that they respect the needs of even such small minority groups. They conveniently keep silent about the needs of the Poles, of whom there are over 300,000.

"Vilnija," a national Lithuanian organization, even tries to deny us the right to decide our own national identity, branding us Polonized Lithuanians, and would like to destroy all that is Polish.

GAZETA WYBORCZA then proceeds to publish an interview with one of the members of "Vilnija" who informs everybody of the extreme nationalistic tendencies of the Lithuanian Poles. This interview then does the rounds traveling the whole length and breadth of Poland.

Only the church in Poland has tried to minister to our needs. In the days when we did not have any books, or bibles, it organized help for us. It may have been modest help, but it was always there. The "Polonia" society began to help when it was allowed to.

"Solidarity" has not done a single thing for us, but it is very keen to lecture us on how we should act politically. If you are fighting for the defense of your rights, then please try to understand that this is what we are also doing.

Try to solve the problems of your own national minorities first. When we ask to have signs in the Polish language we are told by the Lithuanian authorities that the Lithuanians do not have that right in Poland. Is it too difficult for you to put up signs in the Lithuanian language in and around Sejny? Why do you not give your Lithuanians this?

Autonomy is the last ray of hope for us here. Things can not get any worse for us!

You accuse us of cooperating with the Russians and trying to take advantage of a difficult situation which Lithuania has found itself in. In Warsaw you are quite ready to denounce us. You give us lessons on how we should live. You want to go shoulder to shoulder with the Lithuanians against Moscow. Please do so. We too are ready to march with the Lithuanians wherever they wish to go, but on the condition that they understand and begin to grant our demands.

Please try to understand our situation. We have to oscillate between Moscow and Vilnius. If you are able to help, then please do so, but for God's sake do not make matters any worse!

I ask you not to publish my name. I am afraid there may be difficulties at my workplace. The mere fact that you have published this letter will be taken very negatively here, and will provoke comments that the Poles are beginning to stir things up again.

Israeli Diplomat on Relations With Poland

LD2409212289 Warsaw PAP in English 1939 GMT 24 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 24—Interviewed by PAP, chief of the section of Israel's interests in Warsaw Ambassador Mordechai Palzur said among other things:

I think we cannot say there are no diplomatic relations between us today. As regards the scope of activities and duties being done we do not differ from any other diplomatic mission in Warsaw. I am using a car with Israeli flag on it, I am being invited to meetings with the president and prime minister, I have the title of ambassador granted to me ad personam, I have all the diplomatic rights and immunities. So diplomatic relations between our countries de facto exist. The problem consists in the need to formalize them.

Economic contacts keep developing though the Polish authorities find them developing too slow in relation to the expectations. But these things must move on slowly.

In general terms, economic relations are developing slowly but surely. We have arrived at a point where trade between Poland and Israel is three times higher than before the breaking of relations in 1967. We have designed several proposals for economic cooperation which are now at the stage of negotiation. They concern not only the involvement of Israeli capital but also certain international organisations associated with our country. I think the prospects are good and our cooperation will keep developing to the benefit of both sides.

Asked about cultural links, Palzur said that the Polish Mission in Tel Aviv issues about 250 visas each day and his office in Warsaw about 150 Israeli entry visas. We feel that incessant traffic because my office is frequented by my countrymen and Polish citizens, he said.

Israel has been recently visited by former minister for religious affairs Wladyslaw Loranc and several vice-chiefs of economic ministries. Five Israeli ministers have paid private visits and one an official visit to Poland.

Asked when, in his opinion, the diplomatic relations may be restored and what it depends on, Palzur replied that the decision belongs to the Polish authorities. Poland and other socialist countries broke the relations with us and Poland should make the initiative to restore them. But regardless of political or economic factors, the issue has also an important international aspect. The socialist states, by breaking those relations, eliminated themselves from the Middle-Eastern process. Had they possessed their representations in Israel, they would have surely had greater influence on the course of developments in the Middle East by the possibility to

present their stance on questions interesting to them. Much has changed in the world since when the relations were disrupted.

New Radio, Television Chief Interviewed

AU2709124289 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 25 Sep p 4

[Interview with Dr Andrzej Drawicz, chairman of the Radio and Television Committee, by Aleksander J. Wieczorkiewicz: "Communicate With People, In a Language They Understand"—date and place not given]

[Text] [Wieczorkowski] You have been the chairman of the Radio and Television Committee for only a few hours. Krzysztof Zanussi and Maciej Ilowiecki declined to accept this post before it was offered to you. What was it that made you decide to accept this position and move into the seat that until recently was occupied by Jerzy Urban, when you had originally intended to pursue an academic career?

[Drawicz] It all happened so unexpectedly. To be frank, I was not happy by this turn of events. On the contrary, I was rather depressed. Yes, I had rather different plans for my life. But I thought about it and decided that the situation was so serious, extraordinary, and sufficiently important that I had to seriously consider Premier Mazowiecki's suggestion. Tadeusz Mazowiecki is a man for whom I have the greatest respect and deep regard. I decided that I would give it a try. In my endeavors, I shall try to mobilize all those already in radio and television, and who would really like to create something that has meaning. I have no doubt that there are many such people.

[Wieczorkowski] Do you know what you would like to change in television?

[Drawicz] Every Pole knows what he would like television to be. It should be good, interesting, reflecting the state of our thinking, and speaking the truth on all our issues. It should not remain the television that it has been up until now, namely, the ideological instrument of a single party. I think that we shall have to inculcate an appropriate non-party character. It should speak to people in the name of the people, and in the language of the people.

[Wieczorkowski] Wide ranging reforms await you. The whole of this great propaganda-artistic-entertainment-educational monolith is in need of a general overhaul, beginning with the status of the Radio and Television Committee—namely, its structure and its position on the political map of Poland—and ending with television program reform, more technical investment, and the finding the money for these reforms. Where do you intend to start?

[Drawicz] I shall begin by rereading your cycle of articles "What Sort of Radio? What Sort of Television?" I read those articles in GAZETA WYBORCZA not anticipating that they might be the starting point for my professional life. There are many sensible suggestions, but it is far too soon for me to commit myself to binding declarations. I have only just come from Premier Mazowiecki's office. I start work on Monday, and I shall start by be acclimating myself with the prevailing situation.

[Wieczorkowski] There is another matter linked to the Radio and Television Committee that you will have to come to grips with. I am speaking about the employees of this institution....

[Drawicz] ....you mean all those people who lost their jobs in the martial law period, during the so called verification? I am aware that not so long ago there was a rather lame attempt to return to this issue. It is not only a technical issue; it concerns the issue of staffing, and program requirements. Above all, it is a moral question. I can make the promise that I regard this matter as the most important to try and resolve as soon as possible.

UK Paper Profiles New Government Spokesperson

PM2709133089 London THE DAILY TELEGRAPH in English 27 Sep 89 p 21

[Daniel Johnson dispatch: "When Poland Speaks, the World Will Hear Margaret"]

[Text] Warsaw—Imagine being a woman journalist in a country where career women are still exceptional. You are successful, but not a celebrity.

Quite unexpectedly, your boss, the editor of a highbrow weekly, is made Prime Minister. A few weeks later his office rings up while you are cooking dinner for your husband and daughter. You are offered the job of government press spokesman, with ministerial rank.

All this happened a few days ago to Malgorzata (Margaret) Niezabitowska (pronounced nee-ez-a-bit-ov-ska). Believed to be over 40 but looking about 35, the elegant Niezabitowska has, for the foreseeable future, the Polish mug that every cameraman in the world will want to shoot.

Tadeusz Mazowiecki, the shambling Prime Minister, whose mild manner is often mistaken for weakness, is actually considered a far cannier politican than he ever was a journalist. A poor television performer himself, he took full account in this crucial appointment, of the sharp contrast - personal as well as political - between Solidarity's Niezabitowska and her Communist predecessor, Jerzy Urban.

Urban was the man everybody loved to hate. Not just because he was a Communist. Not even (despite Cardinal Glemp's curious remarks about the "Jewish-controlled" media) because he was a Jewish journalist.

They hated him because his job was to lie to them: once a week, like herbivores hypnotised by a python, millions watched his televised press conferences to learn what new sacrifices they would have to make for the socialist paradise none of them believed in.

Asked what she thought of Urban, by the Solidarity daily, GAZETA WYBORCZA, in her only interview so far, Niezabitowska replied with cold hostility: "I never even saw a press conference given by Mr Urban. I never felt the need to do so."

She first worked for Mazowiecki's weekly, TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC, before it was suppressed under martial law in 1981, then again when it was relaunched early this year. In between, she wrote for money in Western magazines, such as PARIS MATCH, and for prestige in the Krakow-based Catholic journal edited by Jerzy Turowicz, TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY - a beacon of light in the gloom that followed the ban on Solidarity.

An even more valuable asset is her fluent English and intimate knowledge of the U.S. Like many other Solidarity people in the grim years after 1981, she was given a fellowship at Harvard in 1986.

She also spent a year travelling through America with her photographer husband, Tomasz Tomaszewski, commissioned by the NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC, for a whole issue devoted to the U.S.

As the Polish economy went rapidly downhill, they earned hard currency with another joint venture, a coffee-table book on contemporary Polish Jews.

She enjoys the confidence of her chief, but this will be harder to keep should her loyalties be torn between Solidarity and the coalition government, between the public and the state.

Yet her reasons for hesitating over accepting the job are difficult for a British journalist to grasp. She says she wants to be "a servant of the state, not a government apologist"

"It shouldn't have been accepted and couldn't have been rejected," she says. Being an official spokesman goes against the grain; she likes cross-examining others, not being interrogated herself. Polish journalists are learning to criticise, like everyone else, and that will not make her job any easier.

"Last but not least," she said in English, "I am very much a family person, so the thought that I will have to neglect my daughter, my father and my husband (who all live at home) is deeply repugnant to me." She says she took the job partly out of loyalty to her old boss, partly because "to have refused would have contradicted the whole meaning of my life".

It is obviously service to Solidarity and, through the movement, Poland, that has sustained Niezabitowska and the rest of her generation. She quotes Pope John Paul II's adviser, the Solidarity priest, Father Joszef Tischner: "I believe in the wisdom of this nation." Of herself, she says: "I simply know nothing."

Niezabitowska's excitement at finding herself in the corridors of power occupied until a few weeks ago by the Communists is quite evident. Today the West cares far more about the Polish Communists than do the Poles. The policemen who guarded the Central Committee's "White House" in Warsaw have vanished; the Party is so hard up that it is letting its offices. Meanwhile, Solidarity ministers are living in tiny flats; Mazowiecki shares three small rooms with his son and even Lech Walesa's lifestyle is very modest.

All this is very satisfying for most Poles. More problematic is the education for democracy. All parliamentary debates are televised, but real democracy will take years of unspectacular, patient work by ordinary people.

Malgorzata Niezabitowska may not qualify as ordinary, but she has the opportunity to make an extraordinary contribution to Polish public life. She seems sure of her ability to do this.

"Very hard times are in store for us," she said. "And difficult decisions that will just have to be explained. I think that I am cut out for that."

Mazowiecki Addresses Parliamentary Conference

AU2709124689 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 25 Sep 89 p 2

[PAP report: "End of International Conference of Parliamentarians—Speech by Premier"]

[Text] The 2-day International Conference of Parliamentarians, devoted to the "Role of Parliaments in the Shaping of National Economic Policy," ended in Warsaw on 23 September. It was attended by representatives of parliaments and economic circles from the United States and eight western European countries, plus members of the Polish Sejm and Senate from every parliamentary club.

The participants were able to share information and experience gained by parliaments in countries with various types of legislatures, but most of all they discussed the ways in which parliaments shape national economic policies.

At the end of the second day of the conference at the Hotel Victoria, Tadeusz Mazowiecki delivered a speech. He said, among other things:

"Two primary tasks are ahead of us: First, we must rebuild the state, and second, we must lead the country out of the economic crisis. Seldom in history has it been necessary to undertake two tasks like this simultaneously. It is extremely difficult, especially because we cannot pursue one objective at the expense of the other. Society would simply misinterpret our efforts toward democracy if we failed to try and resolve the economic crisis at the same time. On the contrary, we are not in favor of the kind of solutions that postpone the expansion of democracy until difficult economic problems have been solved. Therefore, both these tasks form, as it were, the pillars of the government and of the social forces that support it.

"I am convinced most Poles approve of these tasks. Thanks to this, our government enjoys a large credit of confidence. However, we also know that difficult times are ahead. Therefore, apart from thanking you for your support for the beginnings of Polish democracy by holding this conference in Warsaw, I also want to ask you to help us perform the second task. If the economic problems are not solved, everything may collapse. Therefore effective help like this is essential.

"We are pleased that our democratic transformations have met with such a lively response. It is very important to us that our situation be understood, and I believe the dialogue in this hall encourages such an understanding. Nevertheless, now that you understand our situation, I appeal to you once again to help us expand democracy and solve our economic problems.

Editorial on Dangers of Mazowiecki's Policies

AU2709185789 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 25 Sep 89 pp 1,2

[Editorial by Jerzy Majka, TRYBUNA LUDU editor in chief: "Two Dangers"]

[Text] A lot has happened since I wrote my last editorial before going on vacation at the beginning of August. "Solidarity's" June election victory has been followed up recently with a drama that is surprising and rich. The coalition to date has disintegrated. In a certain sense, a coalition reshuffle has occurred. On the strength of "Solidarity's" mandate and with the support of the United Peasant Party and Democratic Party, Tadeusz Mazowiecki has formed a government and invited the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] to join it.

Three months after the elections, nothing is the way it was before the elections. The former opposition is now the ruling force, with an overriding influence on the situation in Poland. The party's influence has very much diminished.

Everything we were accustomed to has changed. I do not think we all realize how much everything has changed. One still hears people describing "Solidarity" as the opposition or complaining that the PZPR leadership is incapable of adopting solutions that are satisfactory to the whole party. They also forget that the 65 percent Sejm majority agreed on at the "roundtable" is a thing of the past. Solutions which are to some extent satisfactory are being established by means of patient talks and intelligent compromise.

The present government corresponds to our idea of a grand coalition in the sense that it consists of a broad array of forces present in parliament. It has been established on the basis of a real balance of forces, expressed in the fact that neither of the two chief forces, the PZPR and "Solidarity," are capable of solving the country's inflated problems on their own. However, each of them is capable of blocking the efforts of the other. The PZPR's major representation in Tadeusz Mazowiecki's cabinet conforms an understanding of their interdependence, which was not so obvious when Tadeusz Mazowiecki began to form his government.

Premier Mazowiecki's government enjoys a relatively large amount of popular confidence. People hope it will halt the deterioration in the country's economic situation, and most of all halt inflation and rescue the market from collapse. They hope that their standard of living will begin to improve. In these efforts, Mazowiecki's cabinet can count on the support of all responsibly minded political forces in Poland. The Central Committee declared our party's support for these efforts during the first part of the 15th plenum last week.

However, there is one difference between the present government and our former concept of a grand coalition. We wanted the "roundtable" decisions to form the basis of government policy. However, the present government has undermined a series of them. What is more, the government's intentions and those expressed by a series of ministers contain old "Solidarity" demands which the "roundtable" actually turned down.

In the balance of forces that has taken shape in the parliament, our party is too weak to influence government policy and the work of many key ministries in every major issue. Therefore, on the one hand, the PZPR, while declaring its joint responsibility for the development of the situation in Poland and its desire for accord and constructive cooperation, professes its general support for the government and its policies. However, on the other hand, it reserves the right to criticize and object to government activities which might jeopardize the interests of working people, especially workers, and endanger the principles and values of socialism. Our interpretation of these principles and values is expressed in the 10th Central Committee Plenum resolution.

Our fears are not exaggerated. Clear dangers already exist in several issues. They are the least clear when one studies the premier's Sejm speech, clearer when one reads some of the speeches by the ministers, and clearest when one reads some speeches by "Solidarity" politicians inside and outside parliament. I consider such dangers to be the plan to transfer socialist ownership exclusively to private hands, the wide-scale access of Polish industry to foreign capital, and the attempt to deprive workers of one of their achievements, the workers self-management body.

Another danger is the rather vague forecast of higher tax on wage increases in order to combat inflation. If that applies to all incomes, I might agree with it. But if it only applies to the incomes of workers in the state economy, then one must say a clear "no" to the idea of placing the costs of combating inflation solely on the shoulders of this social group.

Similar questions also emerge concerning foreign policy. This applies especially to the "private" foreign policy of some "Solidarity" politicians. Mieczyslaw Rakowski

pointed this out in his concluding speech at the 18 September Central Committee plenum.

This new situation requires a different way of formulating government policies than before. It calls for more than a mere adoption of programs on how to solve various social issues, which is what we used to do. It calls for rapid and flexible decisions about what to support and what to combat. This task should be entrusted to those Central Committee commissions that cooperate with groups of PZPR deputies who are involved in these problems. In this sense, these commissions should be a kind of "shadow cabinet."

It is not easy to be a part of a government and, at the same time, behave like an opposition in some issues. In this sphere, the party is faced with two dangers to an equal degree. The first danger is the adoption of a totally negative attitude. The firm majority of party members rejects that. They realize that society would disappprove, which would mean a loss of our social influence, and push us onto the sidelines.

But there is a second danger that is just as great, and causes the same result. This danger is a loss of the party's identity, a loss of face, a submission to pressure from "Solidarity," and an obedience to the pleasant sounding slogan "let us love one another." This kind of philosophy and attitude also leads to the sidelines. A political force that loses its profile will never attract anyone. Not all party members realize that. When one wags one's tail, one can quickly lose it, said the Central Committee secretary at a meeting with party journalists.

The experience of the latest weeks and months clearly shows that partners and allies who suddenly change their ideology and try to make themselves liked by others are treated as mere instruments. They are considered good until better, more reliable partners appear.

It would be disastrous for our party to find itself in such a situation on the Polish political scene. I am convinced that there is no support inside the party for such a line and such attitudes.

French Daily Interviews Lech Walesa

PM2709150889 Paris LE FIGARO in French 26 Sep 89 p 4

[Interview with Solidarity Chairman Lech Walesa by Pierre Rousselin; date, place not given]

[Text] LE FIGARO: Are you satisfied with the way the Mazowiecki government has embarked on its activities? Is there any decision of this first noncommunist government in 40 years that pleases you particularly?

Lech Walesa: I understand this government. I cannot tell you any more than that. The situation is so difficult, so complicated... As chairman of the trade union, I cannot answer such a question.

LE FIGARO: Were you responsible for the scenario behind the events of recent months?

Lech Walesa: I did indeed work toward this scenario. But actually I wanted to pursue a different one.

Reforms in Poland must be carried out simultaneously in three fields—economic, social, and political. It is necessary to avoid moving ahead too fast in one field without making progress in the others. In China economic reforms have advanced very quickly but there has been no political reform. In Poland exactly the opposite has happened: The political reforms have gone too far and the economic reforms have not kept up with them.

So my blueprint was different from what has happened. In the political field I wanted things to stop with the gains attained at the roundtable—to pause and to deal with the economic and social fields.

Unfortunately, however, we won the elections. That is where things broke down. The victory has imposed certain obligations. It has been necessary to go further. Under pressure of events, we had to to nominate a prime minister. This was a change in our plan—an extemporization at short notice. This, because we envisaged doing no more in the political field.

Now it is up to the prime minister, the deputies, and senators to pursue the political reforms. As far as I am concerned, the social movement that I lead must deal with economic and trade union matters. That is precisely what we are doing.

LE FIGARO: If the government does not succeed in the year ahead, will the communists not return to power?

Lech Walesa: No. They have no chance in such a short time.

Why? Because they are to blame for the present difficulties. They do have a chance of returning, but it will take them time.

Why? Because if they observe the ground rules, if they espouse democracy, they could have a chance. Furthermore, they have a powerful apparatus and can put forward good platforms—perhaps even the best: in the economy, for instance. Voters will judge them on the basis of their platform.

LE FIGARO: Do you have confidence in Jaruzelski?

Lech Walesa: I do not see things in those terms. I have confidence in the structures of pluralism. I have confidence in democracy. If someone introduces and implements pluralism and democracy, I have confidence in him.

Not as a person, however. I have no confidence in him. Recently, however, the general has done some good things. He was courageous over the prime minister's appointment. For the first time, the president, the general scored some points.

LE FIGARO: Is it not ironical that you are now doomed to get along with the man who threw you in jail?

Lech Walesa: Things must not be seen that way. It is a result of the reform. A change of system cannot be achieved without sacrifices. In order to win you have to use appropriate methods...

LE FIGARO: Do you not sometimes regret having accepted Solidarity's entry into the government, when you are tired, after a long day...?

Lech Walesa: No. I do not regret it. I think about freedom, the reforms. My tiredness, my worries are irrelevant...

LE FIGARO: You have often said that you would like to retire from political life. This must be increasingly difficult now...

Lech Walesa: Some day I will retire, or I will be set aside. As you well know, it was decided that I would be the one to form the government. The vote was taken. I was already prime minister when I refused. Why? Because I have a goal, I have a task that awaits me. It is not for my own sake that I have this goal, this task. It is for Poland. I have sacrificed myself on the altar of my homeland.

For my part, I do not have any extraordinary picture of Lech Walesa. He is a tired, exhausted man...

LE FIGARO: Are you not disappointed with the West's caution with regard to helping Poland?

Lech Walesa: France and other countries have cooperated with us very well over the past 10 years, during the difficult years of martial law. Now, however, these countries—and Poland too, for that matter—have been taken by surprise by the situation. They do not know what to do. Basically, you were caught unprepared. So were we. We are not ready for this great opening up that has occurred...

LE FIGARO: Former French President Valery Giscard d'Estaing has proposed a new Marshall Plan for Poland. What do you think of this?

Lech Walesa: What I want is for there to be only one Europe. But I do not want this Europe to be built by force, as some have tried to do. I would like us to build it together.

Societies behave like communicating vessels. Especially fom the economic viewpoint, but also from the political and social viewpoints. If the levels are too different, walls have to be built. But if we want only one Europe we must start equalizing the levels in these communicating vessels. This Marshall Plan, or some other plan, could help us.

What I wonder is whether such a plan can be applied to the whole of Europe, and right away, or whether only country by country, and gradually. Be that as it may, it must be done in order for Europe to be truly united.

LE FIGARO: Former Prime Minister Jacques Chirac has suggested a summit of the EEC Twelve with Poland to discuss aid...

Lech Walesa: All roads lead to Rome... What is certain is that there is only one Europe and that we must build it together. All we have to do is find the best way to achieve it.

LE FIGARO: Do you believe that the controversy over the Auschwitz convent has complicated western aid to Poland?

Lech Walesa: Of course. It does complicate matters. Some people want to obstruct an accord. But a solution must be found.

LE FIGARO: Does somebody want a crisis? Who, in your opinion?

Lech Walesa: I do not know. I have not tried to find out. All I know is that it makes things more difficult...

LE FIGARO: In this business of the convent are you more on Primate Monsignor Glemp's side or on the Pope's?

Lech Walesa: I do not want to talk about this. It is not my business. All I can tell you is that I hope for an agreement. I want a solution. I urge people to work in that direction.

LE FIGARO: Why does anti-Semitism exist in Poland, even though there are very few Jews there?

Lech Walesa: It is you say there is anti-Semitism. I do not see it. It is you who are trying to manipulate this. Not us. The Poles are not anti-Semitic. We know that an agreement can be reached. We know that Israel maintains good relations with Germany. So why not with Poland?

LE FIGARO: Is it not ironical now that the Warsaw Pact is in fact called the Warsaw Pact?

Lech Walesa: It is ironical, it is funny, it is pointless. But it depends on where you are...

LE FIGARO: The success of your undertaking in Poland depends on that of Gorbachev's. But does the success of perestroyka in the USSR not depend on what happens here?

Lech Walesa: The world is so interdependent. It is very difficult to know what depends on whom...

LE FIGARO: Do you think that Gorbachev has a chance of success? More than you? Or less than you?

Lech Walesa: His situation is very difficult, very hard. But his chances are within the capability of his country and his own personality.

LE FIGARO: Let's come back to Poland. How is it possible to liberalize the economy and privatize enterprises without creating, on the one hand, a class of the rich and, on the other, a class of the unemployed?

Lech Walesa: There have always been conflicts. There always will be. The problem is knowing how to mitigate them. Some people know how to do that. Others don't.

LE FIGARO: You know how to do that. That is your role...

Lech Walesa: I shall try to resolve conflicts. I have had a little success in that in the past 10 years. But will I always be successful? For my part, I have my doubts. Will an old Walesa be up to the job?

LE FIGARO: Rural Solidarity has just announced the creation of its own party. Is this the beginning of the breakup of Solidarity?

Lech Walesa: No. This is normal, this was foreseen long ago. When I came out of prison in 1982 I foresaw then that there would be political parties. I went even further than that: I even said that one day there would be a true Polish communist party. That is going to happen...

LE FIGARO: Only you can reconcile pluralism and unity in Solidariy...

Lech Walesa: I do not want Solidarity to be monolithic. I want pluralism. People criticize me a lot. But I chose that road deliberately in 1982. The criticism, the divisions, all that proves that I was right...

LE FIGARO: At the moment are you speaking as chairman of the Solidarity trade union?

Lech Walesa: I do not know... Certainly as Lech Walesa. But as for what that means... I am first and foremost a Pole. A politician. A trade unionist. A husband. A lover... But I don't have time for that sort of thing any more... (Laughter)

LE FIGARO: Is there a figure in history who is your model? What do you think of General de Gaulle, for example?

Lech Walesa: No, no. I admire many figures. But you cannot compare eras and situations. De Gaulle was certainly a champion in his own terms, in his time... But today, in the 21st century would he be prepared for the situation with its microcomputers that we know...? I do not think so, because I am not prepared for it either...

LE FIGARO: They criticize you for being authoritarian...

Lech Walesa: I am the biggest democrat of all time. But I like work to be done. Democracy must not stop me working. I was elected democratically because I had a program. Now I have to implement it...

LE FIGARO: Isn't the responsibility of him who wields power far heavier than the responsibility of him who is struggling to win power?

Lech Walesa: Indeed. You can't know how much the whole thing tires me out. This interview, for instance. You are prepared for it, you have done your research. But me, I have abandoned my screwdriver and my monkey wrench to become what I am. And I must be careful. I cannot let you catch me out. It's very trying...

LE FIGARO: Before, you used to live in a local authority apartment block. Now you have a nice house and bodyguards. What is there left of the small-time electrician from Gdansk?

Lech Walesa: How I envy him! He was free and happy, he had a fine life. But now I am in a gilded cage. How happy I was when I went off hitchhiking with a girlfriend and Z100 in my pocket! When you were hungry you ate some stale bread. But it was good, that bread! Now my wife serves me a ham when I come home. She says to me: "Eat up." But I don't feel like eating...

Obviously people see the house that I've got, although it's just a barn that I have done up. They see my car. They see my television set. They think that this is all there is to it. They don't see the effort behind it. A superhuman effort...

LE FIGARO: You have received death threats recently...

Lech Walesa: Yes. Several times, even. But I'm not bothered by them. I throw them in the ashcan. I'm not afraid of anyone. Only God.

I know that I'll go to heaven. A little sooner, a little later, what does it matter? If I get there before you I'll save you a place in the line. You will be able to say that you know me... (Laughter)

LE FIGARO: What is the church's role in the present process?

Lech Walesa: The Polish example is unique. Throughout our country's history, through a thousand years of trials we have worked out an impressive symbiosis between the church and society. Without the church Poland would not exist.

LE FIGARO: One last question: Do you have confidence in the future?

Lech Walesa: Yes. I am sure that I am going to succeed. I also know that I am going to have a lot of work to do. And the more I work the more interviews like this I shall give and the clearer our actions and intentions will become.

Secretary Rakowski Warns of Party Breakup

LD2709200589 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Text] I do not see the possibility of convening a congress this year, said Mieczyslaw Rakowski during a meeting with party lecturers. I will be pushing for the congress to take place halfway through February next year, he added. The first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee also stressed that he could not help suspecting that in the next 4 months several parties could emerge from the PZPR. If this

happens, it will mean that we, as a formation, will irrevocably leave the political stage. It will mean, Mieczyslaw Rakowski continued, a change in the system of government, not the political system. Unity should be defended today at all costs. If three or four parties of the left should come into being, none of them will have any great significance.

Party Members Respond to Congress Opinion Poll

AU2709210289 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 25 Sep 89 pp 1, 2

['DIK' report: "Against Half-Measures"]

[Text] The pre-congress party opinion poll is the chief topic of discussion by party members these days. It is the chief topic, but not the only one. More and more social circles are considering the questions contained in the poll.

Many comrades think that the questions are too obvious, while others think that asking whether candidates for Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] membership should have active and passive voting rights is the same as asking whether the category of candidate member should exist at all.

According to information gathered by our reporters in the voivodships of Koszalin and Opole, most respondents are in favor of a direct election of delegates to the 11th PZPR Congress; active and passive voting rights for PZPR candidate members; the existence of possible alternative PZPR programs; and the transformation of the PZPR into a new party with a new name, program, and statute.

Casting a glance at the answers to the 15th Plenum's questionnaire sent in to the Koszalin Municipal PZPR Committee, one can see that the predominant pattern of the replies is as follows: For question 1, answer A [yes]; for question 2, answer A [yes]; for question 3, answer A [yes]; and for question 4, answer B [the transformation of the PZPR into a new party with a new program, statute, and name]. According to the officials who are processing the replies, it emerges that most party members want an earlier date for the 11th Congress. They also want the congress to be a "grassroots" one, in other words they want the congress delegates to be elected directly by the primary party organizations.

"We want delegates to present our views at the congress," it was said at a meeting of the primary party organization inside the Engineering Enterprise of Koszalin. "By electing them directly, we can not only present them with our tasks, but we can also report to the congress on how these tasks have been discharged."

Members of the primary party organization in the Parks and Gardens Department of Koszalin think that the question about PZPR candidate members is badly phrased. What does it mean active and passive voting rights? Does it mean that the category of candidate member will be retained? What is the reason for candidate members with active and passive voting rights? Many of these comrades thought the question ought to read: "Should the category of candidate for PZPR membership be abolished?" They admitted, though, that this was not the most important issue.

Stanislaw Golka, secretary of the Koszalin PZPR Committee, who has attended several meetings of primary party organizations, claims that many meetings have been stormy. Party cells ranging from municipal committees right up to the Central Committee itself are being attacked for not formulating a constructive party program, for leading the party into the present difficulties, and for not possessing any means to counteract insults to the party's achievements and to its individual members.

"The party must make an honest self-appraisal and say which of its achievements are of undoubtable value for Poland, and which are a mistake," say the members of the primary party organization in the Engineering Enterprise of Koszalin. They think such a self-appraisal should be conducted under the supervision of a team of experts before the 11th Congress. The congress itself should discuss this self-appraisal and adopt a resolution on it. This would be at the same time a set of guidelines for a new party of the Polish social left wing.

It is interesting that 100 percent of the respondents who sent in their answers to the Koszalin PZPR Committee want the PZPR to become a new party, with a new name, program, and statute.

In the Opole Voivodship, the pre-congress poll has been conducted in almost 40 percent of the party cells in that region. All political employees of the Opole Voivodship PZPR Committee are helping to prepare and conduct meetings on the subject of this poll. The point is not to just mechanically answer the questions on the questionnaire, but to discuss the present state of the party and its prospects.

The problem is that many party bodies, especially in Opole Voivodship, have received this questionnaire too late, because there has already been a local poll with a far wider range of questions. Again, many comrades feel the questions are too obvious, as shown by the great similarity between the answers in this region and the answers in the Katowice Voivodship. Again, the dominating pattern of answers was A, A, A, B.

Jaruzelski Message to Peace Marathon Participants

AU2709124889 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 25 Sep p 1

[PAP report: "Message From Wojciech Jaruzelski to the Participants of the Peace Marathon"]

[Text] I send my warmest greetings and regards to all the participants and organizers of this popular sporting event. Both the type and the original form of your noble rivalry deserves to receive the warmest regards from the

widest social circles. The 50th anniversary of the outbreak of World War II gives this year's Peace Marathon a particular significance, because there are people taking part in this marathon who remember those days, and there are participants who were born and grew up in an independent Poland.

My warmest greetings go to those runners who have been able to overcome various physical handicaps and today stand ready and fully fit at the starting line as competitors in this marathon.

I wish you all success. In this competition it is human will power and tenacity that are most important.

Wojciech Jaruzelski.

Sejm Approves Increased Budget Deficit

LD2809021489 Warsaw PAP in English 2336 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept 27—The Sejm economic policy, budget, and finance committee and the legislative committee approved after a long discussion today an increase in the state budget deficit in October to amount to 4.9 trillion zlotys. The increase postulated by the government in draft amendments to the budget law was the only government proposal which won approval of deputies out of many others put forward by the government.

After 9 hours of discussion the meeting returned to the letter from the president of the Narodowy Bank Polski (NBP National Bank of Poland) which had been handed over to deputies at the beginning of the debate.

Wladyslaw Baka stressed in the letter that an increase in credit which was to cover the deficit meant an additional issue of empty money and that improper tax parameters were the main cause of seeking credits.

He suggested that the Sejm should directly oblige the bank to increase its credit in October, that is that an appropriate entry be made in a draft law. The deputies rejected the proposal.

Thus what was left was a government proposal according to which the credit granted by the NBP till October 31 could not exceed 4.9 trillion zlotys.

An NBP representative present at the meeting said that in connection with this the bank might refuse to grant the credit to the budget if there were not sufficient guarantees of its repayment.

The committees adopted the reduced draft amendments to the budget law with 33 votes for and 5 abstentions.

Militiamen Call for Openness, Depolitization

AU2809001089 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 25 Sep 89 p

[Andrzej Stefanski report: "Piekary Militiamen Speak"]

[Text] The militiamen from Piekary Slaskie who sent an open letter to Premier Mazowiecki and General Kiszczak are demanding greater openness.

Recently, 37 out of the 92 members in the local primary party organization decided to surrender their party membership cards.

"I want to carry out the policies of the government, and not those of the party" stated Captain Hula.

"The political views of individual militiamen are their own private matter. General Kiszczak has stated that the militia force must be depoliticized. We want to show that this is not at all difficult" says Sergeant Henryk Kolender.

"Similar suggestions have been submitted by us since 1980, but all these matters have always been 'hushed up,' and this is also happening now. The fact that the minister may have changed his view does not imply that all the high functionaries have done likewise," stresses Corporal K. Zaluski.

"The political education section which was introduced during the martial law period should be dissolved. We want the total separation of the militia force from the state security organs. The infamous murders have been blamed on the militia, whereas it was the work of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the state security organs" adds Captain Hula.

Throughout the whole talk there was reference to the matter of reinstating all those people who had been forced to leave the militia because of their private political convictions.

"We all signed the letter voluntarily. Do you think that as soon as one begins to work in the militia one is not entitled to have any independent opinions?" asked Sergeant J. Toporowicz.

We have been asked by Major Wojciech Garski, spokesman for the Ministry of Internal Affairs, to publish the following statement:

"In the name of the minister of internal affairs, I wish to inform that all decisions concerning party structures in the militia service can only be taken by the highest political bodies, and any hasty actions which may be taken today only threaten to compromise the work of the Ministry of Internal Affairs."

Slovene Assembly Adopts Constitutional Amendments

LD2709202489 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1858 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Text] Ljubljana, Sept 27 (TANJUG)—Parliament of the Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia today adopted amendments to the republican Constitution, some of which had been described by top-level federal state and party organs as contrary to the federal Constitution.

The Slovenian Parliament decided to adopt the amendments despite calls by the State Presidency and the Federal Central Committee to postpone the adoption of the amendments, saying that they could bring into question the functioning of the federation and Yugoslavia's territorial integrity.

Of the 68 amendments to the 1974 republican Constitution adopted today, six were described as controversial by a large section of the public and by most political circles here.

The amendments which caused most controversy included the amendment on the sovereign right of the Slovenian people to self-determination, secession and association with others, on Slovenia's right not to observe decisions taken by the federation if it finds them contrary to republican interests, and on restricting the power of the State Presidency to decide to deploy the Armed Forces in time of peace and impose state of emergency.

The adoption of the controversial amendments was preceded by separate sessions of the three chambers of the Slovenian parliament, at which reactions to the issue by federal bodies, including last night's emergency session of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee, were described as unacceptable pressure on the sovereign right of the Slovenian people to decide on its own constitution.

The Slovenian Parliament remained firm in its stand that the controversial amendments do not clash with the federal Constitution, and categorically denied allegations that some amendments are an expression of Slovenian separatism.

Further on Vote

LD2709215689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2056 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Text] Ljubljana, 27 Sep (TANJUG)—At a joint session of all three chambers of the Slovene Assembly this evening at 1915, delegates of this Assembly proclaimed the amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic [SR] of Slovenia by lengthy applause and sang Presern's "Toast", the first official anthem of the SR of Slovenia. The constitutional law was also proclaimed by applause.

Prior to this, the delegates of all three chambers at separate sessions voted in favor of the amendments to the Constitution of the SR of Slovenia and the constitutional law.

Thus 145 delegates in the Chamber of Associated Labor voted for the proposed amendments, 1 delegate was against, and there were no abstentions. In the Chamber of Municipalities, 67 delegates voted for the amendments to the Constitution of the SR of Slovenia, no one was against, and no one abstained.

In the Sociopolitical Chamber, 44 delegates voted for the amendments, 1 person abstained, and no one was against.

Potrc on 'Very Important Act'

AU2709140589 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 0833 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Speech by Miran Potrc, president of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia and president of its Constitutional Commission, at the joint session of the three chambers of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia in Ljubljana on 27 September—live]

[Excerpts] Respected presidents and comrade delegates. Not for a long time have we, the delegates of this assembly, had such a great responsibilty before the Slovene people and [word indistinct] of Slovenia as we have today. Determining amendments and supplements to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic [SR] of Slovenia always represents a very important act.

The period in which we are deciding on these amendments even further enhances the significance of this event. Let me only mention a few reasons. We expect, and we are convinced, that the adopted amendments can provide the basis for us to definitely break the ties with the period when ideology and politics dominated man's economy, with the period when, despite different wishes and orientations, the substance of socialist and self-managing relations was subordinated more to the forms and mechanisms of decisionmaking than to the free initiative and creativity of people which ensure greater freedom and prosperity and greater social effectiveness through various forms of ownership of work and production and through various forms of social and political engagement.

We are convinced that with these constitutional amendments we are in fact strengthening and not destroying the concept of Yugoslavia as a free and democratic community of equal peoples and nationalities. In this community, every people or nationality, following their own interests, consciously, and on the basis of the enduring, integral, and inviolable right to self-determination, which includes the right to secede and associate, is building and strengthening the SFRY, which represents the basis for their economic, political, national, cultural, and all other freedoms and developments, in accordance

with their interest in preserving and developing these inviolable rights of theirs in such a community.

We are convinced that in the present historical and political conditions the proposed amendments also largely express the real expectations and demands of the working people and citizens of Slovenia and the Slovene people, which have been expressed in the mass support for the proposed amendments. We are also convinced that with these constitutional and legal solutions we are creating the ground for our economic and political system to be adapted to the progressive trends and relations in Europe, of which we are a part because of not only our geographical location but also our historical, cultural, and economic development. But we can only continue to be equal and [words indistinct] if we succeed in proving and valorizing our spiritual, material, and social achievements primarily in Europe and not encapsulated in ourselves and in our own contentment.

And not least, we are adopting these constitutional amendments under the conditions of growing political pluralism in Slovenia. It is with these amendments that we also want constitutionally and legally to institutionalize and assert this. Precisely the adoption of these amendments can be a significant indication for us of the readiness and ability to act and make decisions under the new conditions, as well as the first proof of the real aspirations of new political organizations and movements that are coming into being. [passage omitted]

Our action and decisionmaking today represent a significant test of respect for constitutionality and legality. It is a test not only for us, delegates of the Slovene Assembly, but also for the state and political organs in other republics and provinces and for the highest organs of our common homeland, the SFRY. It is a test of respect for the SFRY Constitution, our common Constitution, for a definite legal order and procedures, and for the position, rights, and responsibilities of the republics and peoples. And it is a test of respect for the authority of the federal organs as determined precisely by that Constitution as a joint agreement between the republics and provinces on federal relations and the system of our multinational state. For all of us this is an important test of whether we really want to act as a law-governed state, whether we are prepared to respect the legal order that governs it, on which we have jointly agreed, whether we are prepared to overcome the differences in views and solutions by democratic means provided for within the constitutional procedures, and whether on the basis of everything I have mentioned we want to continue to strengthen mutual trust and respect. This alone can be the only condition for a strong and stable Yugoslavia. [passage omitted on general explanation of proposed amendments and work of the Constitutional Commisssion]

Comrade delegates. In recent weeks, and especially in the last 2 weeks, some of the proposed amendments have been subjected to critical appraisal not only by some parts of the Yugoslav public but also by many SFRY organs. These include especially the amendments on self-determination; economic sovereignty; the use of the Slovene language in state organs; the rights of the Italian and Hungarian nationalities; the duties of the Assembly of the SR of Slovenia to ensure the protection of the constitutionally determined position and rights of the SR of Slovenia in the event of the organs of the Federation adopting decisions that are contrary to their constitutionally determined authority; the duties of the Assembly of the SR of Slovenia in assuming financial obligations for the fulfillment of the functions of the Federation, bearing in mind the material possibilities of the republic and its development needs; and the authority of the Assembly in connection with the proclamation of a state of emergency and adoption of measures in this connection.

Together with the documents for this session we have distributed to you the announcement for the public adopted by the SFRY Presidency at its 15 September session in connection with some of these amendments. We have not distributed to you the announcements of the federal organs of sociopolitical organizations but these have been published in the media and you are familiar with them.

Today, I hope, we have already distributed to you, and if we have not done it yet, we will also be distributing to you the views and recommendations adopted by the SFRY Assembly Federal Chamber at its session yesterday. The Federal Chamber recommends that we postpone our decision on the amendments.

The Commission for Constitutional Questions of the Assembly of the SR of Slovenia had the aforementioned documents at its disposal as a basis for discussion. It also had the reports prepared by the services of the SFRY Presidency on the working text of the proposed amendments, reports prepared for the purpose of appraisal of these documents drawn up by a special group in the Assembly of the SR of Slovenia. The Commission also evaluated other materials submitted to it.

A number of separate but nonetheless interrelated questions have arisen in connection with the aforementioned—in quotation marks: disputed—amendments and the nature and actions of the reaction to them, and the proposals put forward in this connection.

First, it is a question of understanding, or even unprincipled objection to, the undisputed power and responsibility of the Assembly of the SR of Slovenia, as the highest organ of authority and social self-management, to adopt, within the framework of the rights and duties of the republic, the Constitution of the SR of Slovenia and the amendments to it, while also taking into account the SFRY Constitution and the provisions of its Article 206, which says that the republican and provincial constitutions must not be in conflict with the SFRY Constitution.

Second, it is a question of the real and substantive contradiction of the individual proposed amendments to

the Constitution of the SR of Slovenia with the individual provisions of SFRY Constitution.

Third, it is a question of the authority of the organs of the Federation to make judgments of merit, prior to the final adoption of the proposed amendments, about whether they contradict the SFRY Constitution, a question of the grounds for such judgments, of qualifications of the consequences of these appraisals and judgments, and a question of the constitutional and legal grounds and competence for making proposals to the Assembly of SR of Slovenia that it follow a procedure of adopting amendments different from the procedure provided for by our Constitution.

Fourth, it is a question of the constitutionally stipulated procedure for determining any contradiction between the Constitution of the SR of Slovenia and the SFRY Constitution, a procedure stipulated by the SFRY Constitution and including the anticipated constitutional and legal consequences of any such statement or appraisal.

And fifth, it is a question of the political conditions surrounding and consequences of both the public appraisals of the substance, consequences, and intent of the adoption of amendments to the Constitution of the SR of Slovenia and the way these appraisals have been expressed.

Although enough sufficiently clear and qualified views have been expressed and written on all the questions I have mentioned, I am obliged to restate certain facts because of the responsibility that this assembly bears for the decisions adopted and in order to avoid any reproach and question about how you delegates made decisions, being uninformed or deceived.

I will restate them as facts, without any emotional or political appraisals, even though at this time and in connection with these questions the facts and rationality play such a small role that anyone invoking them already appears ridiculous. However, facts alone will prevail historically and therefore I will primarily confin myself to facts.

There is no doubt that the Assembly of the SR of Slovenia is the only constitutionally authorized organ to decide on the adoption of the Constitution on behalf of the Slovene nation and the Slovene people. In connection with the adoption of the Constitution, there are no provisions whatsoever for any discussions, expression of views, appraisals, let alone expressions of agreement on the part of organs of other republics or provinces or federal organs. The SFRY Constitution, too, does not authorize any federal organ to participate with its views in the procedure of adoption of a republican constitution, to demand discussion on it, or to even influence the procedure of adoption of a republican constitution. Only after such a constitution has been adopted, the appropriate provisions exist for the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia to submit to the SFRY Assembly its opinion on whether the republican constitution concerned is or is not contrary to the SFRY Constitution. But this opinion does not have the character of a decision of the Constitutional Court on the basis of which the provisions of the republican constitution concerned could cease to be valid after the appropriate stipulated procedure. The Constitutional Court only has such authority in connection with determining whether laws are in accord with the SFRY Constitution or with determining any contradiction between republican and federal laws. Despite its authorities, the SFRY Assembly also has no authority to determine contradictions between a republican and the Federal Constitution. The Federal Chamber only discusses the opinions of the Constitutional Court and adopts its political view on them.

However, the procedure envisaged in this way and the determination of powers of course do not presuppose that the republican and provincial constitutions should be in conflict with the SFRY Constitution. They only presuppose an independent responsibility of the assemblies of the republics and provinces so that in their constitutions they should not formulate any provisions that would conflict with the SFRY Constitution, for this latter Constitution is also adopted with their consent and expresses their interest, too.

All the activities of the federal organs so far, while the amendments to the Slovene Constitution have not yet been adopted, are therefore not based on their rights and powers defined in the SFRY Constitution. According to the SFRY Constitution, no federal organ has such explicit powers. Invoking other provisions of the Constitution—the provisions that it is the duty of all organs of sociopolitical communities to concern themselves with and ensure constitutionality and legality or that, in its efforts to ensure the equality of peoples and nationalities, the SFRY Presidency within the framework of its rights and duties must concern itself with coordinating the common interests of the republics and autonomous provinces in accordance with their responsibility in the fulfillment of the rights and duties of the federation—has an unambiguously and entirely different constitutional and legal meaning and significance. But, I emphasize once again, all this only increases the responsibility of a republic or province to refrain from adopting any solutions which would be contrary to the SFRY Constitution. This responsibility is understandable and is also constitutionally and legally sanctioned by the fact that every law, regulation, or general act of any organ of a sociopolitical community or even every self-managing general act is subject to the judgment of the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia regarding its harmony with the SFRY Constitution. Thus our legal system is neither incomplete nor does it make possible to create a state of lawlessness or such a collision of legal norms which would make the respect for constitutionality and legality impossible.

No republican or provincial constitution can prevent the federal organs from exercising their own powers and fulfilling their rights as determined by the SFRY Constitution. In our constitutional and legal system there is no

provision for any institution to make judgments on the coordination of federal laws with republican constitutions. Thus, even if the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia determines during an initiated procedure that a federal law is in accord with the SFRY Constitution, the appropriate organs of the Federation have the duty and the right to adhere to this law concerned even if some republic or province assesses that the law is contrary to its own constitution. In the same way as in the case of an assessment of the Federal Chamber regarding the contradiction between the Republican Constitution and the SFRY Constitution, any such determination of a republican assembly has a purely political meaning.

Modern and democratic societies do not resort to resolving political positions and differences by legal means and, of course, even less by coercion. They try to coordinate and overcome political positions and differences through dialogue, by respecting differences, by seeking common solutions, and primarily by creating a social atmosphere in which these political differences in positions are gradually overcome in a way which does not result in any feeling of being endangered, of defeat, of enforced solution, or of dissatisfaction on the part of any of the sides involved. Last but not least, these are also the basic rules of behavior in international relations as well as the basic method of work and the policy of the Nonaligned Movement whose chairmanship we have assumed only recently.

Therefore, the adoption of the amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia cannot endanger the functioning of the federal organs, even if some provisions may conflict with the SFRY Constitution. Likewise, the consequence of the adoption cannot be that a dual legal system is established and that the republics and provinces in the federation are unequal. It cannot jeopardize the implementation of the joint foundations of the system of the socioeconomic and political relations in Yugoslavia, and it cannot stimulate, and even less so can it create, any foundation for having the social contradictions resolved in a way contrary to the SFRY Constitution.

If something like that were to happen, and if it were established through the procedure prescribed by the SFRY Constitution that it had happened, it would only indicate that all the peoples and nationalities in the SFRY—in this specific case the Slovene nation and the people of Slovenia—do not look at some questions of relations in Yugoslavia in the same way.

To perceive the real social situation and views, especially in a multinational community, is and must be the foundation of every policy whose aim is to be accepted by the people in whose name it is made, and which tends toward a democratic ordering of social questions and contradictions. I am saying all this, comrade delegates, only to show that all this exaggerated concern about the proposed changes and amendments to the SFRY Constitution [as heard] has no real foundation politically and from the point of constitutional law, and has no sound social basis, even in the case of there being a conflict between the proposed provisions and the SFRY Constitution.

I wish to assure you again that the substance of the proposed provisions does not conflict with the SFRY Constitution nor with the provisions of the normative part of this Constitution. Regarding the response and the opinions expressed in the public discussion, and also [words indistinct] the Slovene public, when some of our amendments became so controversial, I dare say that the majority of the Slovenes and the people of Slovenia imagine the AVNOJ [Anti- Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia—FBIS] Yugoslavia of free and equal peoples and nationalities, joined voluntarily for the sake of their own and joint interests, to be something in conformity with their content, and only in this way.

I dare say that the real interests of every Yugoslav people and nationality are the same, and that such provisions only strengthen but do not endanger the AVNOJ concept of the Yugoslav federation determined by the present SFRY Constitution. The Commission for Constitutional Questions has always, and also after the cautions that some proposed amendments may be in conflict with the SFRY Constitution, proceeded from the jointly accepted obligation that the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia must not be in conflict with the SFRY Constitution.

In this clear caution we took into account that there is an essential difference between the conflict and accord. Conflict is possible only when an individual provision or solution explicitly differs from a clear and definite legal norm in the SFRY Constitution. The present constitutional system presupposes and explicitly provides that the working people and the peoples and nationalities realize their sovereign rights in the socialist republics and the socialist autonomous provinces, in accordance with their constitutional rights, and—when the SFRY Constitution provides this in the common interest—that they realize them in the SFRY.

Everything that is not explicitly within the powers of the federal organs as determined by the Constitution is therefore a sovereign right of the peoples and their republics. In accordance with this, which is the only concept of the Yugoslav federation acceptable to us and arises from the sovereignty and self-determination of the people, we are convinced that the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia may provide for everything that is not explicitly provided for in a different way in the Federal Constitution.

Even the joint foundations of the system may be built up and defined more precisely, and likewise it is possible to prescribe the principles and the procedure to safeguard one's sovereignty.

We believe that the Constit tion of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia may contain norms and principles

that are contained in international documents also ratified by Yugoslavia, for they are being applied according to specific provisions of the federal constitution.

Finally we proceeded from the belief that Yugoslavia and Slovenia are in a period of generation of radical social changes. All these changes, among which many are being realized, have not yet been appropriately formulated and enforced in the constitutional law. A rigid, theatrical, (?stifling), and unconstructive interpretation of the constitutional provisional can be fatal for social development and the necessary changes that are condition for this development at such a time.

Therefore, in good faith, truly intending to realize the proclaimed social changes, we have interpreted and understood the provisions of the SFRY Constitution and its amendments according to the substance of the desired changes and not so that the changes could hamper the processed initiated. Of course we know that any new SFRY Constitution, and any new amendment to the federal constitution, constitute a fresh and specific agreement among the republics and provinces, and with our provisions, we could not prejudice—even if we wanted to—the content of the new SFRY Constitution.

The assertions that our amendments prejudice the future constitutional system or that we create an unequal position of the republics and provinces are, therefore, incorrect. Such assertions can only be cheap propaganda based on fabricated facts.

We are convinced that the SFRY was created and that it can exist only as a lasting, free, equal community of the peoples and nationalities who see in it, for the sake of their own and joint interests, the opportunities for the realization of their self- determination in its whole content; who see in this community the conditions for their existence and development; in which they can express their views and interests equally and without fear of accusations or sanctions, and respect the equal rights of others; in which they manage their natural wealth and new value created by the labor of people; in which the full equality of their language is respected, and likewise the equality of the languages of other peoples and nationalities; in which they shape their future every day and always, for the sake of their own interests and consciously, and not because of fears or threats of the use of force.

If I know anything, then not only the Slovenes, but all the peoples and nationalities imagine Yugoslavia as their common motherland in this way. To write down these principles in the republican constitution really cannot be in conflict with the SFRY Constitution. I do not even want to think of it, or of the consequences of such a statement. This being so, everything else is just a dry and lifeless search for words, articles, and references that should demonstrate something else.

I agree that we, too, pay attention to this because of legal formalism and because of the relations in Yugoslavia. However, we certainly will not do it at the cost of annulling or beclouding these principles, because these principles simply cannot be rejected.

Whoever rejects these principles, rejects not only Slovenia but also Yugoslavia. We do not want to do so, and we must not do so. We believe, we still believe that others will not do so.

Regarding these amendments, too, we submitted to you the proposed changes in writing. Regarding the amendment on self-determination, we have stressed this right to self-determination as a lasting right, and we have envisaged that the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia will be empowered to regulate by law all the questions and procedures for the implementation of this comprehensive right.

Indeed, we no longer need to try to convince anyone that, by means of this decision, the Slovene people are not deciding in favor of secession. We do not allow, however, the right to self-determination to be restricted or to be proclaimed historical and used up for ever. We want to implement it above all in Yugoslavia. We recognize the same right for all our peoples.

Only a Yugoslavia that is built on a full respect for this right will be a lasting, firm, and free community of all our peoples and nationalities. Such a provision strengthens Yugoslavia. At the same time, it is our clear reply to all those who would want to do otherwise, either in Slovenia or in Yugoslavia.

We have also defined more precisely the provision on the violation of the sovereign rights of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia. With this provision, we eliminated any doubt about the fact that these rights are violated only if the federal organs adopt decisions contrary to their powers as defined by the Constitution. We also provided that a declaration to this effect may be adopted only by the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, as the highest representative organ of authority of all the working people and citizens. With this provision, we are strengthening and not destroying the constitutional order and legality.

It is now also clearly written down that, on the basis of this provision, we never wanted to violate the obligations that we have jointly accepted with the SFRY Constitution and the decisions adopted on its basis, nor wanted to restrict the powers of the federal organs defined by the SFRY Constitution.

Because of our own opinion and responsible judgment, and not under the threat of pressure, the content of the two amendments was defined more precisely at the Monday session of the Constitutional Commission. With these provisions, we have not departed from the principled direction and the written substance, but we have averted the least suspicion that these provisions may in any way conflict with the SFRY Constitution. You have received the content of these amendments.

In the amendment on the equality of all the languages of the peoples and nationalities, and on the Slovene language as the official language for the conduct of business of all the organs in the territory of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, we clearly stated that the violation of this provision means a violation of the constitutional position and rights of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia. Therefore, in such a case the assembly is obliged to adopt measures which would ensure the protection of the position and rights of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, as defined by the Constitution.

Now, even more clearly than in the earlier wording, this amendment stresses that the rights of the individual must be protected in proceedings before the respective state organs as envisaged by the Constitution and the laws. The rights of the people concerning the equal use of their language in their own state must be protected by the assembly, as the highest organ. This provision of course does not conflict with the SFRY Constitution, and cannot do so. We will not agree to an SFRY Constitution that would violate this elementary right of the people, or to such an interpretation of our joint Constitution.

With the more precise formulation of the amendment on the powers of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia in proclaiming a state of emergency and adopting measures connected with such a state, we clearly stated that, without the assent of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, nobody may proclaim a state of emergency or adopt any measures connected with this in the Socialist Republic of Slovenia or in any part thereof. In case such a decision is proposed to the SFRY Assembly or the SFRY Presidency, our republic's delegates or members of this organ are obliged to immediately notify the assembly and other appropriate organs in Slovenia, and to demand a postponement of the decision until the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia adopts a stance on the point in dispute; these delegates or members must not vote in favor of such a decision without the consent of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia.

In this way we clearly state that the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia gives binding guidance to our delegates and members of these federal organs, and that a decision adopted in opposition to this provision would, in our opinion, be unconstitutional and illegitimate. Can it be otherwise? Can anybody imagine that decisions on a state of emergency and the use of measures in that connection can be adopted without the consent of the legally elected organs of the republic? Is this kind of thinking on such a possibility not an illegitimate, not to say a violent, limitation of the powers of the highest organs of the republic and thus a violation of the fundamental and elementary traits of sovereignty? Such conduct of the federal organs would therefore be indisputably illegitimate and unconstitutional.

These provisions neither violate nor limit their powers, but these organs must use their powers in keeping with the constitutional concept of the relations in the SFRY and not in opposition to them.

All of the other so-called disputed amendments have been unchanged in content and words. They not only do not conflict with the SFRY Constitution, but they are fully in accord with our constitutional system of the relations in the federation.

Economic sovereignty and a responsible assessment of one's own opportunities and aims of development when assuming obligations for implementing the joint functions (?and tasks of the) federation is not only the starting point of our constitutional relations among the republics and provinces in Yugoslavia, but is also a normal expression of the sovereignty and self-determination of nations, recognized under international law and ratified by the SFRY. It is ridiculous to assert that these provisions prevent the implementation of common tasks. If we agree on these tasks, are they not also our tasks? Of course, they cannot be set without our agreement.

Let me repeat in conclusion: With the proposed amendments, we strengthen the AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia] Yugoslavia and only this is our foremost desire and intention.

Comrade delegates, the Constitutional Questions Commission has submitted to you the proposed Constitutional Bill. It discussed it on Monday on the basis of the observations and amendments. However, the Constitutional Commission has not yet formulated the proposed changes. It will prepare the proposal after the chambers conclude their discussions at their sessions today. The opinion of the commission on the discussions of the Constitutional Law on the Implementation of the Amendments to the SFRY Constitution is as follows: The chambers of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia should adopt the attitude that the constitutional provisions on the allocation of funds for social activities and for economic infrastructure should come into force on 1 January 1990. The proposed solution that the assemblies of the self-managing interests communities lose their present role as of 1 January 1990 is rational and in conformity with the constitutional amendments. [passage omitted]

Comrade delegates, at its session yesterday, the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly recommended that assembly postpone the decision on the amendments to the SFRY Constitution [as heard] or rather the disputed amendments. It adopted this stand without being acquainted with the content of the proposed amendments. It adopted it without having any power to do so, after a discussion and a procedure of which it cannot be proud, to say the least. It recommends to us that we should postpone the adoption of the amendments so that the content of our proposals can be assessed and explained before they are finally adopted and so that doubts about whether they conflict with the Constitution

can be eliminated. I propose that we do not accept this recommendation. [applause]

According to the SFRY Constitution and the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, nobody except the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia has the right and the responsibility to adopt the amendments. [applause] I am convinced that we will know today, as we have known until now, how to perform this right and duty arising from the sovereignty of the Slovene nation and the people of Slovenia in a responsible and considered way, in accordance with the demands of the working people and citizens, and with full responsibility toward other peoples and nationalities of Yugoslavia and our common interests in the SFRY.

I propose that, as ever, we should consistently respect only the procedure envisaged by the Constitution and our legal powers. Others should act in the same way, and we will act this way in the future, too.

Comrade delegates, I beg you to consider the proposals supplementing the amendments submitted to you today, and any that we may submit to you on the basis of the discussion, as an integral part of the proposal of the amendments and of the Constitutional Bill.

At today's sessions of the Chambers of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, after a discussion lasting 1 and ½ years, respecting the majority view of our working people and citizens, in their interest, and in accordance with their demands and interests, I propose that we adopt the amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia and the Constitutional Law in order to implement them. Until now we have defended, and today we are determined to elevate into a constitutional norm, the right of the Slovene nation and the people of Slovenia to decide on its fate through its legal and legitimate representatives. We admit this right to others, too, but we do not allow anybody to restrict ours. Thank you. [applause]

Slovenes Welcome Amendments With 'Enthusiasm'

AU2709215389 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Excerpt] After a debate lasting almost a whole day and in separate sessions of all three chambers of the Assembly of Slovenia, 80 amendments to the republican Constitution were adopted in an almost unanimous decision by all the delegates. There was only one vote against and one abstention. The amendments were then festively promulgated at a joint session. Dragan Stavljanin reports from Ljubljana:

The amendments were promulgated with the first singing of the new Slovene anthem--Presern's Zdravljica. About 100 citizens gathered outside the Assembly building, welcoming this act with cries of thank you delegates and Slovenia, Slovenia. Car drivers joined in with this enthusiasm by honking their horns.

At the end of the session, Miran Potrc, president of the Slovene Assembly, stressed at a news conference that a task had been carried out that the people had requested from us. We have an important job before us. We must explain in detail in meetings with comrades from the other republics and provinces that we are not working for the destruction of Yugoslavia or the violation of the rights of others, or the elimination of the existing federal organs, stressed Potrc. [passage omitted]

Drnovsek on Slovene Assembly Session

LD2709114289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0929 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Text] Ljubljana, 27 Sep (TANJUG)—The UN General Assembly proceeded in a very constructive atmosphere of detente and a fresh dialogue between East and West. This was the tenor of all the debates, including the speeches by U.S. President Bush and Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze. Everyone talked about dialogue and democratization in the world and my statement, which I read on behalf of our state and of the nonaligned conference, was in the same vein, said Dr Janez Drnovsek, SFRY Presidency president, today in a statement he made at Ljubljana's Brnik Airport on his return from the United States.

The current world trends are in great dissonance with our current situation, with the dialogues or lack of them in the country. Drnovsek went on to say that he had full confidence in the sense of responsibility and maturity, of the Slovene Assembly, which is meeting today to discuss constitutional amendments. Any constitutional conflict likely to emerge, Drnovsek said, must be resolved peacefully and constructively, through dialogue and in a way stipulated by the existing Constitution alone. In other words, the use of any un-constitutional means to protect, i.e. to defend the existing Constitution, is out of question because it would lead to an unacceptable paradox. I am convinved and, in any way, I hope that in our state there is still enough seriousness and maturity for such a dialogue. Any other way of communicating in the current situation and relations in the world is totally unacceptable and is in complete contrast with what is happening in the world today and what is considered progressive and civilized.

Asked why he had cut short his U.S. visit, Drnovsek said that he had carried out all his main tasks: the speech in the General Assembly and talks with statemen from many countries, including U.S. President Bush. I wanted to return to attend the final round of discussions on the adoption of the constitutional amendments in the Slovene Assembly, Drnovsek said at the end.

Federal Assembly Seeks Court Ruling on Amendments

LD2809101489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0916 GMT 28 Sep 89

[Text] Belgrade, 28 Sep (TANJUG)—At today's session the SFRY Assembly's Chamber decided to ask the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia to implement an emergency procedure to assess the constitutionality of the amendments to the Slovene Constitution which the republic's assembly adopted yesterday.

The proposal was tabled by delegate Zarija Martinovic, who said that the state presidency, the party presidium, the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee, the SFRY Assembly Federal Chamber, and the Federal Secretaries for National Defense and for Internal Affairs had warned that some of the provisions in the proposed amendments to the Slovene Constitution were not in accordance with the Federal Constitution. On the other hand, the Slovenes insisted that there was no discrepancy. He wants the Yugoslav Constitutional Court to say who is right.

Martinovic's proposal was approved by 118 delegates, with 5 votes against and 18 abstentions.

Speeches, Debate at 26-27 Sep LCY Plenum

Pancevski Addresses Body

AU2709092589 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0241 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Speech by Milan Pancevski, president of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, at the extraordinary session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia on 27 September—live]

[Text] Comrades. Consultations have finished and I promise that I will not take long. I believe that we will come to a logical conclusion with what the working group is about to propose, with its assessments and stands, and that we will successfully end today's session.

It is obvious that this evening's discussion on the ideopolitical issues of the working text of some proposed amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia has shown the full justification for the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia putting this very important subject on the agenda of its session. The discussion has also shown that some remarks against the Presidium have been unfounded, namely for calling the session of the Central Committee on these issues in this way.

At the beginning of the session I stressed that this subject had been present in the Presidium of the Central Committee for more than 1 month and that we have had several discussions about this and openly presented our stand to the public. It was expected that the League of Communists of Slovenia above all would actively work and contribute to the resolving of the disputable constitutional amendments, especially because such warnings also came from some other organs in the federation.

Convening the session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia on these issues earlier could have been interpreted as an attempt to prejudge the discussion and, in one sense, as pressure. We did not want to do that. In this sense the Presidium cannot accept the criticisms for not holding the session of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia before.

However, now, in view of the situation in which we all find ourselves, the responsibility of the Central Committee today is to establish its stands on the basis of today's discussion and direct the activities concerning their implementation. I think that we all agree that the majority of the proposed amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia are in line with the basic orientations of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia regarding the development of socialist self-managing socioeconomic and political relations, that they contribute to the operationalization and further creative elaboration of the amendments to the (?1968) Constitution of the SFRY, that is to say that they are on the line of the further conceptualization and realization of the three reforms. Much has been (?said) about this today.

Of course, certain aspects of some amendments can be discussed, especially from the point of view of their consistency, from the point of view of the basic socioeconomic, political, and legal system of Yugoslavia. However, this could be a topic for scientific, expert, and political discussions until the new SFRY Constitution has been adopted.

I would particularly like to stress that opening the discussion on the ideopolitical aspects of some controversial amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, we have not in any way denied the constitutional rights of the Slovene people and the working people and citizens of Slovenia to organize relations in their republic independently and in accordance with the SFRY Constitution. Nobody has been or is questioning this right. However, at the same time I must stress that as regards the ideopolitical and constitutional questions that refer to the unified economic system, the unified bases of the sociopolitical system, the character, role, and functions of the federation, the questions of interethnic relations, the realization of the equality and brotherhood and unity of all Yugoslav peoples and nationalities, the bases of the system of all people's defense and social self-protection, and in this context the role of the Yugoslav People's Army and others, we must ensure a fully democratic atmosphere, a creative discussion, and must involve all social entities throughout the country on [words indistinct] for adopting the new SFRY Constitution. This was also extensively (?discussed) today. We are working very seriously on this, and as said here, we will discuss the bases for altering the political system in the future. We

will certainly arrive at certain solutions that have been mentioned and demanded here.

All of these questions that constitute the foundations of our society are in the interest of all Yugoslav peoples and nationalities. They cannot be formulated or defined partially or in an isolated way, but must be our common interest and obligation. They should be treated and defined by all of us throughout the entire process of adopting a new SFRY constitution. I do not think that this is contentious. Nobody has contested this.

Any other approach to these questions would be, I think, in contradiction with the basic democratic principles of our country's organization, as well as with the principles on the freedom, rights, and duties of all individuals, citizens, and the peoples and nationalities of our country.

As the discussion pointed out, we are aware of the need for constitutional changes and we insist on them. We are trying to speed up the process of adopting a new SFRY Constitution. It is also necessary to point out that we have decided to go to the extraordinary congress with a platform on changes to the political system. And (?I hope that we will achieve this).

What is the essence of the problem? I think that it primarily lies in the fact that some draft proposals to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia—which in fact regulate very important questions of the socioeconomic system, the character and role of the federation, the equality of the Yugoslav peoples and nationalities, the system of all people's defense and the Yugoslav Armed Forces, and so forth—are not in accordance with the SFRY Constitution. If they were adopted in that form, this would have very serious ideopolitical, constitutional, and other implications in realizing the basis of our system. They would disturb the basic principles of our federalism based on the AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia] orientations, and significantly violate some functions of the federation as defined by the SFRY Constitution.

We must not close our eyes to the potentially grave consequences that would endanger the unity of the social system as established by the SFRY Constitution and thus the sovereignty, integrity, and independence of our country.

Therefore, these changes would essentially contradict the historic orientations and interests of all Yugoslav peoples and nationalities, including, of course, the Slovene people, (?who) live together in the Yugoslav federation, a community of equal peoples and nationalities. In our political actions I proceed from the fact that the Yugoslav federation has been and remains one of the basic guarantees of ensuring the national identity, the affirmation and realization of the basic interest and sovereignty of the Yugoslav peoples, individual and all together—that is to say for a better, richer, more humane life for all peoples and nationalities, the workers' class, and all other working people and citizens. Unfortunately, the behavior in our social practice indicates that we are not all aware of this truth.

We have been facing numerous problems in the functioning of our federations for a long time. These problems are still multiplying and becoming more acute. This session is in fact an expression of the situation in which we are today. In this context some of the proposed amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia could lead to a direct confrontation between the bodies of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia and federal bodies. At the worst, this could lead to the confrontation between the Socialist Republic of Slovenia and other republics and provinces, including the real danger of a confrontation of the Slovene people with all other peoples and nationalities. Of course, in such circumstances the forthcoming reforms in the economic and political system would also be seriously threatened.

Therefore, if such controversial political amendments were to be adopted by the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, then it must be clear to us that, in addition to the front of the economic and political crisis, we will (inevitably) open the front of the constitutional crisis in the country.

Therefore, there is only one question for me: Will we Yugoslavian Communists accept such a possibility? I must say that we cannot accept all of this. This is why I think that the Central Committee and all of us are facing great responsibilities that cannot be passed on to anybody else. The Slovene Communists and all progressive forces of Slovenia have a special responsibility to undertake everything possible through democratic political action and the creative activities of its forces in their community to prevent such a situation.

The discussion justifiably demonstrated that the Slovene public should be more realistically informed about the serious consequences and political implications that could be caused by the disputed amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, as well as about the relations throughout the SFRY and our country's position in the world. My deep conviction is that, through a democratic process and the political system's institution, the Communists and progressive forces of Slovenia will have enough strength to find the solutions that will lead toward overcoming the existing political tensions and to a stable, constitutional development of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia and the SFRY.

In doing that, the League of Communists of Slovenia will enjoy the full support of this Central Committee and all Yugoslav Communists, because all of us together have a great historic and political responsibility for the fate and further prospects of developing our country.

The discussion pointed out that the responsibility is joint and that the Slovene Communists cannot build our federation with unilateral acts, but that, in accordance with the proclaimed directions and aims of the social

reform, with other communists, working people, and citizens, they should start working on the unified ideological basis for changing the sociopolitical system and adopting a new SFRY constitution with, above all, the unified aim in mind of building a modern and efficient Yugoslav federal community.

Of course, I want to point out that all other political and state organs of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia and the SFRY have their constitutional responsibilities which they must exercise to protect the constitutional order, sovereignty, integrity, and independence of our country.

(?Therefore), proceeding from the assessments and stands that we are going to adopt today, the duty of the Central Committee of Slovenia is to critically examine the newly created situation and assess the total activities and actions of the communists, as well as their own actions regarding the preparations of the amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, and to establish the ideopolitical tasks for its further work, overcoming the present problems, and initiating organized action by all social forces on adopting all amendments that will be in accordance with the Constitution and our federal order.

I also think it is necessary for the Communists in all organs and organizations of the federation, according to the functions and powers of the organs in which they work, to contribute to finding a consistent solution to the controversial questions.

Moreover, the Communists in the organs and organizations of all other republics and provinces and in the organs of the federation must take a more active role in preparing for the LCY congress and the congresses and conferences of the League of Communists of the republics and provinces. In doing so, on the basis of the policies and orientations of the LCY, they should strive for the reform of the economic and political system, and on this basis establish the ideopolitical foundations for the new SFRY constitution.

Our discussion has been going on for some time. The question is how to conclude this rich and very substantive discussion. (?I agree) with what Vinko [Hafner] and many others said about us all bearing certain consequences of our discussion.

I would like to single out three questions which I think are important for finding an agreement. They are directly linked to the adoption of the assessments and conclusions which the working group set up by the Presidium will recommend.

The first one is that in our statement we presented certain assessments and conclusions. The Presidium unanimously adopted these assessments. There were no differences regarding this statement. The question is: Will this Central Committee approve our statement, that is to say, the content of our statement? I personally think that the Central Committee has no reason not to endorse the stands that we have expressed in the statement.

The second thing is: All state and other organs in the country acted in accordance with their powers and duties. I primarily refer to the SFRY Presidency. The SFRY Presidency has sent letters to all institutions in the federation, to the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, and to the Slovene Presidency. We also have the views adopted by the Federal Executive Council. This was most probably accepted by the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly. The Constitutional Commission has also expressed its views. The question is: Will we support all of these actions undertaken by the state organs in accordance with their powers? I think that we should support them in the same way as when we adopted our statement.

And third, I think that we as the Central Committee—I agree with some people who say this—cannot now decide to postpone the session and so on. This was done by other state organs [words indistinct], because they were obliged to do so [words indistinct]. I think that, in view of our responsibilities, it is our obligation to point to the repercussions and consequences that can ensue if the amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia are adopted in this form by the Slovene Assembly.

I think that the consequences that can be created in our country are in our country. [sentence as heard] We must ask the communists to make sure that these potential new situations that we may encounter after the adoption of the constitutional amendments are successfully overcome. I think that this is the task of this Central Committee.

I hope that these three questions will be included in the proposal of the assessments and stands. I also think that this is the minimum that this Central Committee should bear in mind during the adoption of these assessments and stands. Thank you.

Simic Views Threat to Military

AU2709141489 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1957 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Speech by Petar Simic, president of the Presidium of the Committee of the League of Communists Organization in the Yugoslav People's Army, at the extraordinary session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia in Belgrade 26 September—live]

[Text] Comrades: Taking an active part in resolving the accumulated problems of our social development, and vigilantly following and assessing the current issues concerning the security of the country, its integrity, and the entirety of its constitutional order, the Communists of the Yugoslav People's Army have discussed and assessed the constitutional, legal, and political aspects of the new aggravations in society that have been caused by the proposal of some amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia.

The Federal Secretariat for National Defense informed the SFRY Presidency about this at the beginning of this month. The Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] has supported the initiative for discussing the possible political consequences of adopting these amendments. In doing so, we primarily proceeded from the conclusions arrived at in our legally expert and political analyses that some of the proposed amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia are calling into question certain functions of the federation, and thus the realization of the functions of the armed forces, and that therefore they threaten to destroy constitutional order and potentially endanger territorial integrity.

The unilateral way in which this was done, and the obstinate and exclusive stand with which the first public criticisms have been met—and this view was brought here to this session—have disturbed our public and the members of the Yugoslav People's Army. We are aware of the need for constitutional changes. We insisted on them and are trying to speed up the process of adopting a new SFRY Constitution. However, we have always stressed that our future, the future of all of us in the federation, of the equal peoples and nationalities, must be built and developed jointly. Until recently this view was also held by the political leadership of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia. However, this was not followed in practice.

One could say that the advocates of, to put it mildly, the concept of the so called asymmetric federation in Yugoslavia took control over the controversial amendments. The question is: Could these disputed amendments not have waited for a joint discussion on the drafting of a new SFRY constitution, unless this is the policy of fait accompli? In any case, this is a unilateral act.

Section 3 of Article 5 of the SFRY Constitution states that the borders of the SFRY cannot be altered without the consent of all republics and autonomous provinces. Introducing the right to self- determination, secession, and association in the normative part of the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia could pass without other federal units questioning it. But what about us? What about our equality?

These questions cannot be something about which the federal units can independently decide, something that they can determine themselves according to their own discretion. Moreover, this afternoon we received the latest alterations to the controversial amendments. The latest alteration of Amendment 63 does not include any explicit restriction on the use of armed forces. The restriction with the compulsory consent of the Slovene Assembly has now been dropped. However, the new text states: "On the territory of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia or some parts thereof nobody can proclaim a state of emergency or adopt any measures connected with it without the agreement of the Slovene Assembly." It does not specify which measures can be introduced. Is this so in order to avoid the explicit mention of the use of armed forces? The use of armed forces is certainly among the measures undertaken during a state of emergency.

I cannot interpret this correction in any other way except essentially in relation to the previous stand, which explicitly stated the use of armed forces. This is why I am of the opinion that it is necessary to stress again that these kinds of provisions, that the armed forces cannot be used in peace time without the consent of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia—to be more specific, under the conditions of a state of emergency—is indeed in direct contradiction with the SFRY Constitution and the explicit duties of the SFRY Presidency. It is also in conflict with the principle of the unity of commanding and leading the armed forces.

Providing the Assembly and the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia with powers regarding the use of the armed forces would represent a violation of the constitutional powers of the federation, because leading and commanding the armed forces of the SFRY and exercising the supreme command are exclusively the constitutional duty of the federal organs, as defined by Article 281, Paragraph 1, Point 6 of the SFRY Constitution.

Restricting the right of the SFRY Presidency to declare a state of emergency and to undertake special measures in extraordinary situations, as well as its right to use the armed forces when there are reasons for it, according to Article 6, Paragraph 3 of the Law on All People's Defense, violates the established bases of the system of all people's defense and the system of leading and commanding. The examination of the proposals of the disputed amendments, excluding the latest alterations that were received today, which do not change the essence, has led us to conclude that they could destroy the unity and entirety of the constitutional system, that they could call into question the consistency of the constitutional system, that they could stimulate tendencies of social contradictions being resolved outside the SFRY Constitution. This would be a precedent on the basis of which the way out of the current crisis, overcoming the crisis, would be sought in instruments that are not based on the SFRY Constitution.

What should we do now? I see the sense of today's session of the LCY Central Committee and other institutions of our sociopolitical system, which have been held in the last few days, with a view to having the Slovene Assembly postpone its session scheduled for tomorrow. I think that one should enable the public of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia to more realistically familiarize itself with the grave consequences for relations throughout the SFRY and the position of our country in the world that could be caused by the disputed amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia.

I think that the essence of the controversial amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia

should be reexamined when we all start working on the drafting of a new SFRY Constitution. Of course, the total responsibility for possible consequences should also be considered. If it is not considered and if it is not understood, then I think that this would not be good. Feeling this responsibility as the common responsibility, the Communists from the Yugoslav People's Army count on the conscience and patriotism of the Communists and the working people and citizens of Slovenia and appeal to them not to allow our federation to be built with unilateral acts, but to, at this grave time and in accordance with the already declared directions of the social reform, start working as soon as possible on the ideological bases for changing the sociopolitical system and a new SFRY Constitution jointly with other Communists, working people, and citizens. In this way they would jointly build a more modern and more efficient Yugoslav federal community. Thank you.

Kucan on 'Great Majority' Support

AU2709201989 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Speech by Milan Kucan, president of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia, at the 27th session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia in Belgrade on 26 September—live]

[Text] Comrades: This morning the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia held a session at which it was established that our Central Committee sees no valid reasons to hold today's urgently convoked session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia which—in its objective political importance and results—can be nothing other than the exerting of an unacceptable political pressure on the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, which should decide about amendments to the Constitution of our republic tomorrow. This itself is disputable.

This was also pointed out by the discussion on the agenda of today's session which I would not brand in any way as some kind of torture.

Moreover, the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia does not think that the amendments are in contradiction with the SFRY Constitution. In preparing them, we cooperated with the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia and the Socialist Alliance of Working People. They are an expression of our stands and orientations and enjoy our support. They are also supported by a great majority of the Slovene people, workers class, and other citizens of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia. The support has been democratically expressed throughout the complex (?real) structure of Slovene society.

We advocated that during the adoption of the amendments all comments should be responsibly considered, including those from the federation and this Presidium, the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. In view of that, the amendments were expanded, changed, broadened, and made more specific. I do not think that anyone is very interested in my assessment of these discussions that lasted some 3 weeks. Even Comrade Varoslija said today that he did not have enough time to carefully read through it.

In its penultimate statement, the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia stated that the Slovene communists are obliged to do everything possible so that the amendments do not contradict the SFRY Constitution. This was an expression of trust. However, this trust was quickly cut short, because the same Presidium, even before the conclusion of work of the Constitutional Commission and the Slovene Assembly, decided, and I do not know on what basis and under what pressure, that the Slovene communists did not in fact do that, which is to say they did not fulfill the obligation of making sure that the amendments do not contradict the SFRY Constitution. I do not know where and how it is possible to do this and how to check what has been done if not in a legitimate and legal procedure.

By taking this stand, the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia has in our opinion put itself in the role of arbitrator, as once before, in matters that are the responsibility of the assembly. It has raised itself above the Yugoslav Constitutional Court which is the only body to have the legitimacy to adopt in this [word indistinct] of contradictions, a relevant stand and to, of course, do this after the adoption of the amendments.

We do not support the practice which defends the Constitution—and the concern in this regard is obvious, concern which is the right of everyone although it cannot be any justification—by unconstitutional means, prevents the adoption of the amendments in the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, suspends the sovereign right of a people and the highest organ of its authorities to adopt its own constitution within a united and constitutional system of the SFRY, that is the highest legal act of its sovereignty.

I recently heard during a nighttime debate in Belgrade the question from one of the most important officials in the federation: What is less harmful, the adoption of allegedly controversial amendments which are at variance with the SFRY Constitution and would be followed by the initiation of a constitutional procedure under the provisions of the SFRY Constitution, or the use of all means to prevent the adoption of these amendments in the Slovene Assembly?

To me the worst thing is if an organ that is obliged to consciously defend constitutionality violates the Constitution, in the belief that the lesser evil has been committed. This is not a violation of the Constitution by an individual but by an organ on which the authority of the

system, confidence in it, and, if you like in the final analysis, the constitutionality and legality of what we call the rule of law, depend.

At this session today there should really be a debate on the ideopolitical aspects of some proposed amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, that is a political debate. Remarks are nevertheless of a primarily constitutional-legal nature. Political assessments are based on them or at least there are attempts to base them on these. I am pointing this out because I am not sure, although this was said by Ljubo Varoslija, that it is possible to separate these two aspects and that it is possible to avoid the danger of the Central Committee being in the role of arbitrator—and it is obvious that some people desire this role for it—on questions which are disputable in constitutional legal theory. Therefore there is the suspicion that the session is prepared in such a way as to make this possible. Secondly, what is at stake is which questions are disputable and which are a part of the political act which is the highest expression of the sovereign will of a people, an act represented by the adoption of the constitution of its national state.

However, these are only warnings which would deserve to be respected in our debate. Of course, no one and not even the League of Communists of Slovenia has anything against such a discussion here. In our opinion, there is not one relevant political issue which this Central Committee could not discuss. This has obviously become a political question—it is now less important why, in whose interests, and how it was politicized—but putting the question on the agenda brings with it the responsibility for the consequences. The proposer must above all be aware of this and in this case this is of course not the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia.

Putting the constitution and constitutional changes of one republic on the agenda of an organ of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia is a precedent particularly since this debate is entering its final stage, only a few hours before the beginning of the session of the Assembly, after the public debate, and immediately prior to the adoption of these amendments in the assembly which is the highest organ of sovereign power of one people.

This can only be interpreted as political pressure, as a limitation of the sovereign will of the Slovene people with serious negative consequences in an already complex political situation. I will not invoke the feeling of injustice, inequality, endangerment, and so on, but I will only ask the question: To what extent are we aware of the possible long-lasting consequences of this decision of ours? Especially since the debate is taking place in an atmosphere which contains the already more or less legitimized accusation—that has already been tolerated for a long time and continues to be tolerated—that this involves the open separatism of no longer just the Slovene leadership, which is less of a problem, but of the whole Slovene people and its republic, which, by adopting the proposed amendments, would only prove what it has been proclaimed publicly for a long time and no longer only in the pages of the press, that Slovenes want to destroy Yugoslavia.

Nevertheless, regardless of the fact that there is no confirmation of this either in our knowledge of matters, or in investigations of public opinion and surveys, or in the mood of the public, it seems that the idea has been accepted about the innate nature of the separatism of Slovenes so that alongside the idea about the congenital and acquired genocidal nature of Croats there is now the innate separatism of Slovenes.

I am aware of the reproach that this is not a precedent because the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia at least has discussed the amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Serbia. This is true, but this happened at the request of the Presidium of the League of Communists of Serbia because there had been resistance primarily in Vojvodina and Kosovo, so despite national support of the Presidium and the pressure of several rallying manifestations of the so-called anti-bureaucratic revolution, whose atmosphere was also introduced into this Central Committee, these amendments should have been adopted even in conditions of imposed emergency measures.

There has also been further criticism that the Presidium of the Central Committee did not react promptly and support was insufficient and only expressed in principle and could have arrived somewhat earlier. This is because even in that presidium there are those who support counterrevolution and separatism in Kosovo, which is something that is being repeated like a refrain.

As far as I am aware, no one in Slovenia asked for such a debate or support or complained about the shameful position of our republic, and no one wants to correct such a position because we do not have this feeling since we do not have the kind of position that is defined in the SFRY Constitution. No one in the official organs in our republic considers that the amendments are at variance with the SFRY Constitution, which was verified today at our session.

In our work on the amendments, we have proceeded from Article 206 of the SFRY Constitution, which says that the Constitution of the republic cannot be in contradiction to the SFRY Constitution, because we think that this article in the Constitution that we have endorsed and which is therefore an integral part of our constitutional structure, is above all an obligation for us and for organs of the republic of Slovenia which have even until now—and especially in the assembly and the constitutional commission—consistently supported and respected this in their work, that is to say, respected the SFRY Constitution.

This is normal as we have willingly and voluntarily accepted the SFRY Constitution and accepted all the

obligations that stem from it, and without worthy arguments we would not be able to accept the assessment that the amendments are in direct contradiction to the SFRY Constitution, even though after adopting the Constitution or rather the changes to this Constitution and the Constitution of the republic, the constitutional system of the SFRY has become complex and probably quite inconsistent. However, there is still no comparative analysis concerning this which would be necessary before beginning work on the new constitution and with which the Central Committee would understandably be involved. For now, the only authoritative assessment of the contradictions between our amendments and the SFRY Constitution that we have is the view of the Federal Executive Council which we received today and the view of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense which we received 2 days ago.

I am not going to reply to assessments, that is accusations, written down in our documents and known by, that is repeated for a section of the public, which imply Slovene separatism, breaking down the SFRY, endangering the country's integrity, undermining the country's basic setup, preventing the execution of the functions of the federation and even the armed forces, and so on, because they are too absurd and unfounded. However, that does not mean that they are harmless. I am pointing this out to this Central Committee. If these accusations are accepted, each one of them is a sufficient reason to introduce emergency measures in Slovenia according to the guidelines currently in force which had been adopted without taking into consideration some of Slovene remarks, in fact, exactly those remarks pertaining to the accord of the republican bodies, remarks which were contained in the earlier text of the guidelines. If these assessments are accepted, then there is no way out, measures must be imposed. However, to prevent the adopting of the constitutuion by imposing emergency measures is an unprecedented act which will have long-lasting political consequences.

I see all this in the context of the advocating of, if you will, a broader political scenario which is aimed at provoking unrests in the country and in Slovenia at any cost by using various kinds of meetings and gatherings connected with the protest against the four men sentenced in Ljubjana, including the denial of the right to one's own language and own constitution, and aimed at provoking people to go out into the street and to do so not because of events in other republics, but in one's own republic, finding an excuse to confirm the stereotype about Slovenia as a factor of destabilization of this country which should be stabilized in the same way one is trying to stabilize Kosovo or, as it is put in a modern way, carrying out the Kosovization of Slovenia.

This can be done by claiming that the amendments are backed by the bureaucratic, statist, nationalist, separatist, and counterrevolutionary forces and then demanding differentiation and elimination of those people who allow this to happen or are to blame for it. Of course, this should be observed within the framework of the conflict of, on the one hand, the forces of authoritarianism and repression who represent the main danger for our future, for the future of realizing the economic reform, the reform of the political system and the material welfare of the people, democratization of the political life, and stable and equal interethnic relations and, on the other hand, the forces of reform and democratic socialism who want to affirm all this in the social practice. These forces also exist within the League of Communists, within this Central Committee and nobody, no community, is immune to their reappearance. We can justifiably be concerned about which forces the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia will support in this debate. This is happening now before the 14th Congress, and diverting our attention again from the vital issues of work, production, social differences, and the overcoming of poverty. To neglect these issues means in fact to concede to the state emergency which is de facto imposed in the country.

Carrying out the so-called Kosovization of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia is not easy. We Slovenes do not have another motherland. Our motherland is the Socialist Republic of Slovenia. It is a part of the SFRY according to our free will. To impose force to an entire people in its mother country without its will and even against its will is a political precedent and a mindlessness. Those people who have been working actively on this option all the time must be aware of that.

One should read what Vidmar said at the second meeting of AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia] when he also protested against the eternal accusation of Slovenes for separatism. Accusations of this kind can also be found in the so-called opinions of the expert public that the SFRY Presidency invoked in its first announcement. It cannot be a sheer accident that all these opinions are based on one and the same foundation: Professor Jovicic's article in NIN which is full of non-academc and inexpert claims, such as the one I will cite as typical: Can this people, the Slovenes, that is, the only one of all Yugoslav peoples among which there are some bigger and culturally and politically more developed peoples with a considerably older statehood and democratic tradition, place the theoreticaly unfounded demand to enjoy the right to secede? This is really an expert way to present facts and I will not speak about them any longer. I wonder whether amendments can be called controversial only beause they originate from the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, the republic which bears the (?suspicion) of separatism.

POLITIKA journalist Comrade Zec deserves our gratitude since it was from him that we have finally learned that the only remaining debatable matter for the constitutional Commission of the Slovene Assembly is the technique of secession. This is about the commission's work on, as he puts it, legalizing secession. Does one need anything else to create a public opinion in which the entire work of a constitutional commission, an assembly, a republic, and a people are defamed.

It is also not incidental that all the so-called expert opinions, the opinions of the expert public, have up to now in fact been the opinions of the expert public of Serbia and Belgrade, and we know that, unfortunately, other and different expert publics also exist.

It is not incidental that all initiatives to hold the debate so far originate from comrades from the Socialist Republic of Serbia. One should not misunderstand me—I do not think that anybody, including the comrades from the Socialist Republic of Serbia, has any right to be concerned about this country's destiny, and thereby to also engage the federal organs in many aspects . However, I do not accept—nor does anybody in the League of Communists of Slovenia —that their concern and responsibility is greater than ours.

It is clear; and we all know that this is not a question of or a dispute about Slovene separatism or national egoism and nationalism in Slovenia, which I do not deny, but this cannot be attributed either to the legal organs of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia or to the majority of the Slovene people, or the majority of Slovene Communists. This is a question of a dispute about the concept of Yugoslav federalism and the great difference in understanding the essence of the concept of the Yugoslav federation and the relations within it.

The amendments to the Slovene Constitution will, in line with the will of a great majority of the population in our republic, strengthen and ensure the sovereignty of our republic and even more fully establish the SFRY as a federal, voluntary, free, and democratic community of equal peoples and, with them, nationalities, on the basis of the principle of the responsibility of peoples and the republics for their own development and the development of the whole of Yugoslavia. A question is to be asked at this point about the so-called amendment on the economic responsibility of the republic of Slovenia.

The amendments proceed from the idea—and there has also been much discussion of this at the session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia—that the sovereignty of the federation is founded on the voluntary association of sovereign peoples and on their voluntary transfer of some of their sovereign functions or parts of sovereignty to a common federal state. [words indistinct] these functions do not cease to be part of the sovereign functions of this republic, nor does their responsibility for their implementation cease.

They procede from the stand that one should completely elaborate and [word indistinct] the principles of federalism from (?the official constitution), that is, the 1974 Constitution which professor (?Nikolic), for example, thought had become an evil that is now bearing fruit. We do not hold such a view about this constitution or about Tito or Kardelj, who were its creators, and particularly not in the same way as Cosic who is now recalling in his memoirs that Kardelj once told him a long time ago that Yugoslavia is in fact a historical transit station for its peoples.

On the contrary, we think that the principles of this constitution are in line with the conclusions of AVNOJ, and there is no need to change them. In our assessment, the conflict is therefore not in the amendments to the Constitution of Slovenia, but is over the existing constitution and its basis. The conflict began when this constitution began to go downhill with the accusation that it was adopted against one people in order to establish its unequal and shameful position in the SFRY. These assessments are lacking a reply from the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and this Presidium, and they were also left without a reply at the 17th session.

On the basis of these principles and their meaning and spirit, the right to self-determination is always topical as a complete natural right to secession and association which proceed from the (?founding) principles of the existing Constitution. In total contradiction to this view is the proposal for changes to the political system formulated by the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, which in fact advocates that the sovereignty of the republics be restricted and even eliminated by supporting the concept of so-called original state-legal subjectivity and the sovereignty of the federation, whereby the so-called competence of competences [kompetencija od kompetencija] would belong to the federation, on the basis of which the federation would delegate part of its original sovereign functions to the republics as its federal administrative units without sovereign protection and particularly not to the [word indistinct] national states.

This proposal requires the abandonment of the principles in the existing constitution because, according to this interpretation, it is not in line with AVNOJ and turns Yugoslavia into a confederation. Therefore, this obviously involves two very different constitutional concepts which differ in their theoretical and constititutional legal foundation and in their political essence.

The existing Constitution has now been adopted as an agreement between all the peoples of Yugoslavia and their republics and provinces. It has been adopted in a constitutional and legitimate way. Changes to it are possible for now with the agreement of all federal units. This means that changes to every constitution, and thus to the Slovene Constitution, must be founded on the principles of this Constitution and not on concepts that are not in line with this constitution, that is to say, concepts that have not been accepted. This does not mean that every federal unit does not have the sovereign right to suggest different concepts to others. Unfortunately, there are not enough concepts, but it is the right of every federal unit not to accept such a proposal.

In my opinion, a departure from this situation lies only in the consistent respect for the existing Constitution, whose authority has unfortunately been taken away, and in the seeking of new solutions on the basis of consensus

between everyone, because an attempt to impose certain solutions through violence and pressure will not and cannot bear fruit.

I do not know whether what I have read in the papers is correct or not: There is the very controversial statement by Comrade Bulatovic, president of the Montenegro League of Communists Central Committee, who is reported to have said in Bar that the adoption of the amendments to the Socialist Republic of Slovenia Constitution creates two legal systems in our country, and when two legal systems exist, force decides between them.

It is my firm conviction—and I have worked on these amendments myself—that these amendments are not at variance with the SFRY Constitution or with the concept of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia about the federation, but they are certainly at variance with the concept proposed by the Socialist Republic of Serbia Presidency. For the time being that is only a proposal, which I fully respect, but I do not agree with many points in it.

As regards the reproach that these Slovene amendments prejudice the future constitution, I must mention Kardelj—if I am still allowed to do so at our session—who said on the eve of the adoption of the amendments to the 1963 Constitution that any change of the Constitution of Yugoslavia is in fact a new agreement among our republics and provinces.

This means that the new Yugoslav constitution, which we are all talking about and which we all desire, will be a completely new agreement, and if we abandon all these principles and we agree on it, the matters that are under discussion now will constitute no prejudice.

If we discuss political aspects, it would certainly be in order to ask why the discussion of this problem has been running in this, I would say, unpleasant and intolerant way, identical with other discussions. Why do I, in some people's opinion, probably also discuss in such a rather intolerant way a question that is essential for the position of the nation to which I belong, and discuss it under the burden of suspicion and accusations.

One should ask when such a manner started to be imposed in our discussions and our relations, such a way of creating the public opinion about each other, a way in which the problem is no longer the causes and the events, but the reaction and the mutual accusation. Let us take just the latest examples: the example—let me call it so—of Muzevic, the example of Knin, Novi Sad, and our amendments.

When did we reach a situation in which one part of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia is putting another part of the same League of Communists of Yugoslavia in the dock, one part putting the other there for a while, and then the other way around? Even concerning our amendments, in this atmosphere nobody asked why they have been worded precisely in such a way and why they stress to such an extent the phenomenon of sovereignty, and why this phenomenon has been stressed to insensible limits in the country as a whole.

I believe that this element would have been built into our amendments anyhow, because it is principled in nature. But it has been stressed to such an extent precisely because of the present political circumstances. The amendments to the constitutions of some other republics that adopted these amendments before this situation would probably be different now. Peoples, nations, and leaderships are frightened.

I have in mind the bitter experience of Celestin Sardelic and his discussion in our Central Committee. I know what I can expect after this discussion, but I will nevertheless, dare to say that all these happenings of the people and other occurrences generate the reasons for this fear. The reasons are meetings, marches, social threats, a constant threat to withdraw confidence in the Federal Executive Council presided over by Comrade Markovic. The reason is the constant care for one's people, this concern for democracy in the country under the principle of one man, one vote, forgetting completely that in a multinational country this principle must also be combined with the principle of one nation, one vote, and so on.

People want to protect themselves from this pressure so that they may ensure the achievements and values which had been won in the national liberation war and post-war development, above all freedom and equality, which—I am thinking of national equality—was unfortunately underestimated in our discussion on interethnic relations. People do not allow anybody to take this away, and they see a guarantee in the formulation of the constitutional norms.

I am obliged to say that no one—with their voluntary decision to live together in a common federal state—has put himself at the tender mercy, forever and without any reserve, of the relations that in essence and substance are opposed to the sense of this life together. Nobody has surrendered to the tender mercy of the peoples or republics that are more equal than others, that are bigger, that are more meritorious, more cultured, and more democratic than others.

After all, no one has granted anyone the pleasure of admittance to federal Yugoslavia to now restrict this pleasure and make it conditional. It does seem so now. Let me only remind you of Comrade Svabic's well-known speech at the meeting at the confluence of the Danube and the Sava [in Belgrade on 19 November 1988] and I ask myself—and probably I am not the only one to ask this—in whose interest it is to chase the Slovene out of Yugoslavia all the time.

As regards the individual amendments to the Socialist Republic of Slovenia Constitution, I would say something only about the amendment that formulates the right to self-determination. Among the Slovene constitutional law experts, politicians, and public, there has

never been in dispute—not since Sperans [Kardelj's pen name], and it is this year 50 years since his well-known work on the Slovene National Question—that the Slovene people have the right to self-determination which also includes the right to secession and association.

In this way we have understood AVNOJ. The Yugoslav Constitution, and the 1947 People's Republic of Slovenia Constitution contain this right explicitly written down word-by-word in Article 2 in the same way. This is how we understand and interpret the present Constitution's principles. In 1964, when this right was written down in the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia Constitution, according to historians Petranovic and Zecevic, Kardelj especially stressed that the right to self-determination is an achievement that our people won in the war against Fascism. He said that under this slogan we conducted our propaganda among our people during the war, and it would not be right if after the war, we abandoned this right won in blood.

Tito said the same in a 1942 article, I quote: The Communist Party has never renounced, and never will renounce, the principle that every people have the right to self-determination including secession. He even thought that in this way he was destroying the arguments of the reactionaries who at times asserted that the people would decide in favor of secession at a free election. It was Kardelj's stand that this right was opposed by the person who feared his own people, because our peoples were in favor of living together in the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia.

One should especially see if people anywhere are not for Yugoslavia, and why they are not, if this is at all the case anywhere. This, after all, is a problem of constitutional law theory. It is a well-known problem. If anybody wants to understand it, he may obtain the basic information in the Yugoslav Legal Encyclopedia published by the Leksikografski Zavod of Zagreb.

This question appeared as a topical political problem when, a few years ago, the theory began to be reviewed to the effect that the right to self-determination is some kind of a historical remnant and not a current and lasting natural right of the people. This right is supposed to have been consumed with the formation of the AVNOJ Yugoslavia or even earlier, perhaps in 1918 with the formation of the State of the Serbs, the Croats, and the Slovenes. Some practical consequences arise from such a view.

It is obvious that in such a case it is not possible to speak about a federation as a voluntary community based on the free will of its peoples. One does not at all listen to the argument that a federation is stronger and longer-lasting if it is based on an inalienable and lasting right to self-determination by its peoples, and that disputing this right is the best encouragement for the development of separatist tendencies. The right to secession, after all, becomes topical only after association. Life in a community along with such a current right shows how firm such a community is, how strong the integrating interests binding it are. This happened in our country as long as the project of life together in socialist self-managing society had this integrating force. With the crisis, this force is disappearing more and more, and in the vacuum thus created, separatist and unitarian tendencies are growing.

Under the conditions created in the country, the Socialist Republic of Slovenia could not do anything but say in its republican Constitution, again and in a similar way as in 1947—and it was valid until 1963—that the Slovene people in the Yugoslav federation possess and retain the right to self-determination, including the right to secession and association.

It is clear that such a provision is quite natural. Even Professor Nikolic says that it may be disputed only by using anticivilizational approaches and arguments, and that it is entirely in accord with the valid concept of the federation. It is, or it may be, of course, an irritation only to the adherents of centralization and a unitarian state who advocate a so-called authentic federation with its original subjectivity and sovereignty. This is a concept of the federation from 50 years ago, which the Soviet Union is abandoning. At least the discussions indicate this, as far as I understand them. It is a matter of tendencies that would reestablish the federation as a state over the republics, with its own state and legal substance and original powers.

This right—I speak about this apologetically, for I see that a great ignorance of facts exists in our country—also emanates from international acts. The convention on civil and political rights that the UN adopted in 1967 says, I quote, that all the peoples have the right to self-determination and, on this basis, the right to determine their political status and ensure their economic, social, and cultural development. And again: To attain these goals, all peoples manage their natural wealth and resources in a way that does not violate the obligations of international economic cooperation based on the principle of mutual benefit and international law. In no case can a people be deprived of its livelihood, as Article 1 says.

If, under international conventions, a people has the right to take care of its own development, the incorporation of this right in its own Constitution cannot be (?an expression of egotism) of this people, elevated to the pedestal of a constitutional norm. In addition, this same provision has been contained in the Socialist Republic of Croatia Constitution since 1974, and has also been contained in the Associated Labor Law since 1976. I do not know whether Comrade Sarazan meant this, if I have understood him properly.

The same provisions are contained in the (?fact) of the economic, cultural, and social rights, and [word indistinct] truth. Yugoslavia is also a signatory to this petition. The argument that the signatory to this is not the Socialist Republic of Slovenia only shows the extent to which we differ in understanding the essence of the Yugoslav federation.

Recording this right is not the conditioning of an acceptance of our view of the Yugoslav federation, but the sanctioning of the fundamental principles of the existing constitution. Of course, this does not mean that the forms of relations and living together in the federation cannot be changed, that they are given once and for all. This means [words indistinct] of the principle that every such change is possible only as voluntary and free agreement of the federation of associated republics and peoples.

The things with which this right is denied are interesting. I will only mention two typical arguments.

The first is that this represents the breaking up of the country when the rest of Europe is integrating itself. However, the important thing for this kind of integration in Europe is the sovereignty of the countries that are integrating themselves and a high degree of political and social cooperation among them, an end to the threat to their sovereignty, and a respect for certain regulations in carrying out the agreement.

I do not know how our practice of breaking business and trade links between the business organizations from Slovenia and the Socialist Republic of Serbia—which is an obvious fact, a fact which is not spontaneous—can be linked to these principles and this practice. It is well known that it is almost impossible to stop the flow of goods, services, and capital (?on the borders) of modern economies which are protected by the army, police, and customs officers. The norm which would prevent [words indistinct] of the flow of goods and services and [word indistinct] of capital and people would help much more than disputes over the right to self-determination. This would also affirm the independence and responsibility of economic entities.

The second objection is that this amendment has been received as a practice of breaking up the integrity of the SFRY and its constitutional order. Of course, it was not said who has received this in such a way. If this is the case, then this was only possible on the basis of the media concept of this, and only this, kind of interpretation of the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia. One only needs to look at the headlines in the newspapers, let alone the journalist Zec, whom I have already mentioned. I ask myself whether it was important how the amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Serbia were received, and for whom it was important, and why the argument about every question in connection with that constitution was seen as help for irredentists and for the counterrevolution in Kosovo; that is to say, that it represented hatred toward the Serbian people.

I will not repeat that our first option, I am now talking about Slovenia and the League of Communists of Slovenia, because of and despite this orientation, is the option to live in the SFRY as a federative community of the voluntarily associated and equal peoples. Our orientation is to make it a modern, developed, and democratic socialist country, a country in which we will enjoy rights and duties, and where we can responsibly exercise these duties.

It is clear that we will not and do not want to leave Yugoslavia, and that nobody has the right to kick us out, despite these amendments. We know, and I believe that the members of this Central Committee also know it, that nowdays states are not disappearing, that they are not ceasing to exist, and that they are not being divided in a constitutional-legal way, but in certain direct historic political conditions, and that because of that the explanations state that this provision in the constitution has principally a declarative meaning rather than a specific meaning of a specific act.

The principle meaning of this provision is clear and I do not think that it can be disputed. It was necessary to expand the provisions of the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia on the right to self-determination because of inadequate explanations and explicit denial of this right as the permanent, whole, topical, and unalienated natural right in a unitarian and centralist concept of a federation.

I will not abuse you patience any longer and I will now conclude. I am convinced that the proposed amendments to the constitution of our republic do not contradict the SFRY Constitution, that they are in accord with the principles of that constitution which determines the principle position of both the republics and the federation. However, if one is of the opinion that the Yugoslav federation will be stronger and firmer if the right to the self-determination of its peoples is denied in it, if the right to the equal use of language in the work of the federal organs is violated, the rights and the constitutional position of the socialist republics is unobstructedly violated and threatened, emergency measures introduced, and the role of Armed Forces in peacetime in some parts of the country prescribed without the consent of the top organs of these republics, and financial resources taken regardless of the material possibilities and needs for the development of these republics, and in this way preventing them from fulfilling their obligations toward the community, then he is wrong. All these rights are in accordance with the best AVNOJ tradition, and the defense of the sovereignty of federal units which was an explicit obligation of the federation as established by the SFRY Constitution of 1946.

Such solutions are not endangering any people. They are only bothering those who want to weaken the position of

the republics and ensure for themselves the needed position and advantageous opportunities for influencing decisions in the federation.

The provisions in the amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia are such that they should be entered as soon as possible in the SFRY Constitution because they are not only important for Slovenia, but are also in the interest of all peoples and republics. This is what we in fact propose.

Comrade Varoslija rightly pointed to one problem, namely that Slovenia has been doing this, while other republics have not. This very fact does not have a legal meaning that can qualify this to be in contradiction with the SFRY Constitution if there are no other reasons for that. This is a politically important fact, but there are no legal consequences. If our amendments are not in accord with the SFRY Constitution, then of course they cannot be valid, and cannot be used by other republics. If they are in accord, then it is up to other republics to think about doing this themselves, of course, if this is within the basic principles and the unified bases of the political system.

Until this happens, the new constitution will remain the guarantee for the constitutional position of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia. In a way this position will be different from the position of others, but it will not be more privileged because we are talking about the provisions protect some constitutional rights and the position of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, and do not threaten the position, rights, and powers of any other republic.

These are the rights which we are prepared to defend and guarantee in the SFRY Constitution and all other republics. These provisions can only be opposed by those who believe that they cannot, even hypothetically, find themselves in the position in which their language will be threatened, that the Yugoslav People's Army can ensure them of order in peacetime, that they cannot be accused of separatism, that they he can protect their constitutional position and rights regardless of the constitutional provisions which [words indistinct] influence the decisionmaking of the organs of the federation.

Slovenia does not have such influence and possibilities. It is not in the position to be a strong Slovenia in a strong Yugoslavia. It is only one of the equal federal units which wants to have and protect its statehood, independence, and equality with others in the federations in a legitimate constitutional way.

Finally, regarding the proposals that the communists in Slovenia should be obliged to take a certain action and conduct regarding the amendments and to ensure that the Slovene Assembly postpone its session, I am obliged to say that the situation is extremely serious. The request for postponement means and would be received as an attempt to suspend the sovereignty of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia. If you today try, on the basis of democratic centralism, to put us in the position to exert pressure on the Slovene communists, the League of Communists of Slovenia and its Central Committee, then you must be aware that you are pushing us into the position to work against the interest of the Slovene people, its workers class, and all citizens of our republic, to alienate ourselves from the people, to accept the position of quislings among our own people.

This is a position which we Slovene Communists have never accepted, or will or can never accept. This would constitute a betrayal of our original orientations from the very beginning of our movement that were written down in the Cebine Manifesto exactly 52 years ago. Communists, it was written at that time, the Slovene Communists are making all their forces available to their people and are expressing unlimited loyalty to their Slovene people.

On the basis of this stand, the majority of the Slovene people followed us in the people's liberation war, in AVNOJ, in the SFRY. They followed us because of our assurances that the conditions for the people's comprehensive free development and affirmation will in fact be created in this kind of a federal socialist community of the freely associated peoples. Do not forget that these amendments received full support in a democratic discussion, that the Slovene communists also took part in this discussion, and that the people have demanded a referendum to decide on this issue.

We are talking about the fundamental questions concerning lives of the Slovene people, and in this case the Slovene Communists will be on the side of their people as they have been up to now. What appears to be controversial now is (?deciding on) the foundations of any kind of (?rational), federal organization of Yugoslavia. If this is accepted, if this is found to be controversial, then [words indistinct] of association and joint living, then this would be not the Yugoslavia which we have opted for with AVNOJ and the 1974 constitution.

There is no reason for the Communists of Slovenia and the leadership to prove and justify anything, to prove that they are not separatists, that they are not breaking up the constitutional order, that they are not destroying the integrity of the country, that they are not preventing the organs of the federation, including the armed forces, from performing their powers, to prove that they are opting for Yugoslavia, and that this decision is contained in all our documents and stances, starting from those adopted in Cebine up to now.

In our orientations we are for the AVNOJ Yugoslavia, for the socialist federal community of equal peoples, sovereign peoples, and not for any community of south Slavs, especially not for that which would be imposed against our will. Those who (?are causing) rifts, and they have been doing it for some time, must bear in mind that they will bear political and historical responsibility for doing it.

My proposal is in accord with was sad at the session of the Central Committee of Slovenia today, namely that

today the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia should not adopt any stands and anath nas after this discussion, except a conclusion, which was proposed by me, to hold a discussion within the framework of a comparative analysis of all constitutional amendments to the Constitution of the SFRY and all republics and provinces in order to find a generally acceptable platform for a new federal constitution.

Otherwise, regarding these questions that are important for all of us, and not only for Slovenes, there will be two truths, there will be serious words, scars, and a divided and torn apart League of Communists of Yugoslavia. I apologize for the length of my speech. Thank you.

TANJUG Carries Debate

LD2709125489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1843 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 26 Sep (TANJUG)—The ideopolitical aspects of the proposed draft amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic [SR] of Slovenia—this is the sole item on the agenda proposed for the 27th session of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY], which began in the Belgrade "Sava" Center this afternoon.

Prior to adopting the agenda, Milica Stanivukovic addressed the session asking how the LCY Central Committee Presidium yesterday decided to convene an LCY Central Committee plenum on a 24-hour notice and only a day before the Assembly of the SR of Slovenia was to consider the proposed amendments to the republican constitution.

It is known that these amendments have long been at public disposal, she noted, and stated that by such a move the LCY Central Committee Presidium had led the Central Committee members into a position whereby they were to discuss these issues without preparation and without clear political aims.

Are we not expected by such a move, Milica Stanivukovic asked, to just confirm the stands and decisions prepared in advance, without having the original text of the amendments as a basis for discussing their legal and constitutional interpretation, and the stands and explanations established in this respect by the Slovene LC Central Committee, its Presidium, and the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

In light of the fact that the LCY Central Committee Presidium has not provided us with defined political aims, the question arises: What is to be achieved by today's LCY Central Committee session and what are its motives?

Milica Stanivukovic therefore submitted that the proposed agenda not be adopted and that the LCY Central Committee session be postponed. I do not oppose discussions; nevertheless, I do not favor such methods, Milica Stanivukovic concluded.

Then Boris Suklje addressed the session, noting that one should state that today's LCY Central Committee session had not been convened at the Slovene LCY Central Committee's initiative. On the contrary, he added, the plenum was convened contrary to the conclusions of the Slovene LC Central Committee and its presidium.

Supporting what Milica Stanivukovic said, he noted that no part of the Slovene LC or any other organ of this republic believed that the amendments to the Constitution of the SR of Slovenia were controversial or questionable.

Responsibility for the consequences of today's LCY Central Committee plenum, Suklje warned, is therefore to be borne by the LCY Central Committee Presidium. He regarded the fact that the session was convened only a day before the assembly of the SR of Slovenia was to consider the proposed amendments to the republican constitution as a precedent and excess. This is, he believes, pressure on Slovenia's sovereign organs.

Concluding that the convening of the LCY Central Committee plenum has been pointless, Suklje considered it an attempt to deprive the Slovene nation of its identity.

It is necessary to point out, Suklje said, that the LCY Central Committee Presidium meets the Slovene people's sovereign will with the logic "of disciplining". [passage omitted on Pancevski address to plenum]

Pancevski's speech shows that the previous two objections were appropriate, said Bozidar Debenjak, advocating that the LCY Central Committee should abandon the debate on the proposed subject. By putting this point on the agenda, Debenjak considers that the Central Committee, which is a political body, is forced to concern itself with professional issues, or rather constitutional material. This leads the LCY back to the path which we thought we had rejected, back to the path of metamorphosis. The LC cannot crudely encroach upon the sphere of the state and at the same time claim that it recognizes the autonomy of the state. The LC cannot obligate the state and the assembly, Debenjak stressed.

I personally consider that any kind of pressure from the LC or its forums to defer the adoption of the constitutional amendments in the Slovene Assembly would be an unconstitutional act. It would be direct political pressure on a constitutional act which has been carried out in the most normal manner in other republics, said Boris Muzevic. [passage omitted]

In the opinion of Marko Brdelic, it is normal for the LCY Central Committee to discuss all isssues, particularly those which threaten the legitimacy of the SFRY. However, the question arises as to why the LCY Central Committee Presidium has not even reacted to certain excess phenomena such as attacks on national borders. The Croatian leadership was left to defend these borders

on its own, Brdelic said, recalling that the LCY Central Committee did not react to the statement of the Vojvodina LC leadership either.

Brdelic considers that serious thought should be given to the possibility of something arising out of today's debate which will also not benefit our nations and nationalities. If problems exist which do not guarantee a qualitative result, what is the point of our debate, asked Marko Brdelic.

To Sergej Kraigher, the convening of this session and the postponement of today's committee meeting on praparing the 14th extraordinary congress are merely proof that the old practice is continuing, which belies the impotence of the LC when it comes to debating the most serious issues, including differences and conflicts. The nonexistence of unified views on many issues also led to the convening of this session and to the politicization of the entire problem. In Kraigher's opinion, it is first necessary to thrash out all contentious issues at the Yugoslav level, including differing views on the 1974 Constitution, the platform of the SR of Serbia on the political system, and the draft amendments to the Constitution of the SR of Slovenia.

Kraigher criticized the fact that this session was convened on the eve of a Slovene Assembly session without clear ideological foundations, so that he sees no practical effect from this plenum.

When I became a member of this Central Committee 6 months ago, said Janez Kocijancic, I expected that we would particularly be debating economic and development problems. Up until now, however, I have not had an opportunity for this, because the LCY Central Committee Presidium has not seen fit to put these issues on the agenda. Instead, we have discussed political questions, concerned ourselves with our own sad fate, and "heads have rolled".

Today a strikingly political issue is being proposed for the agenda, Kocijanic stressed, and went on to ask the LCY Central Committee Presidium what was the aim of this debate, convened only 16 hours before the Slovene Assembly is to adopt its stand on proposed amendments to the constitution of the SR of Slovenia.

The political leadership, in addition to proposing the agenda, must also have an idea of what the outcome of such a debate could be. Would the aim be for Slovene communists to dictate something to the Slovene Assembly, or for the Slovene LC to be "disciplined", which would lead to its liquidation?

I am in favor of every debate, Kocijancic said, but to put this on the agenda 16 hours before the debate in the Slovene Assembly, and after 3 months of public debate conducted on the amendments, is an irresponsible political act. [passage omitted]

I do not feel that I am forced to discuss the proposed issue, Ljubomir Radovic said, as he called on those present to behave as members of the Central Committee rather than as delegates of the republics and provinces. He particularly stressed that the LCY Central Committee members from Slovenia, Croatia, Serbia, and other areas should transcend the current situation. Radovic also maintained that today's session should not be an attack on Slovenia nor pressure on the Slovene Assembly or the place for a stubborn defense of one's stands.

He stated that such a method of convening an LCY Central Committee session is a result of the disunity in the LCY Central Committee Presidium over the issue proposed for the agenda. Proceeding from this, Radovic raised the question of the responsibility of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, that is, of some of its members. The organs of the Kosovo LC supported the convening of the session and advocate the establishment of clear stands and assessments, he said. [passage omitted]

After a series of remarks aimed at the LCY Central Committee Presidium's promptness Milan Pancevski said that the LCY Central Committee Presidium has been paying due attention to the actions in Slovenia. The Presidium talked to the comrades in Slovenia a month ago and pointed to potential problems. On 4 September we set up a working group to study this issue and on 20 September we issued a statement that was adopted unanimously.

Pancevski stressed that the session was not convened following the press articles but on the grounds of the expert organ's analysis. We wanted the LCY Central Committee to have its say about these issues and to overcome the current situation in a constructive way.

He also said that the LCY Central Committee Presidium applied the same standards to everyone and that in the course of the next 15 days the issues related to the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee Presidium's statement will be discussed. [passage omitted]

Milan Pancevski noted that the LCY Central Committee Presidium proposed that the LCY Central Committee session be open to the public. Ivo Druzic added that this LCY Central Committee plenum should be broadcast live by radio and television stations in order to avoid manipulations. These are the decisive issues of the future of the LC and of the country as a whole. What one advocates should be clearly evident; who builds and who destroys Tito's Yugoslavia. [passage omitted]

The moment these amendments are adopted we become a different kind of federation. By this unilateral move we are becoming an asymmetrical federation, that is, a confederation. From this point of view, Ckrebic said, one should perceive the anxiety among the public as well as opposition to the practice of "fait accompli" on issues which have a bearing on all of us.

Despite all its shortcomings, the 1974 Constitution, in Ckrebic's opinion, can only be changed by the common

will. Dissatisfaction with this Constitution does not empower anyone to change it unilaterally, whether directly or indirectly.

According to Ckrebic, these changes to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic [SR] of Slovenia impair the basic principles of the federal Constitution. Since the federal Constitution can only be changed with the consent of all, it is unacceptable that changes are "introduced" in an indirect way on the grounds of just one side's will. [passage omitted]

Stanko Radmilovic said there are two theories about the purpose of these amendments. According to one theory, the amendments are to pave the way to the secession of Slovenia from the SFRY, something that need not be commented on, since the SFRY's borders would be retailored by such a move. According to the other theory, this is a desire for an asymmetrical position, something that in fact enforces confederalism on the country. The essence of these attempts, according to Radmilovic, is a blockade of the social and economic reform in the macroeconomic and the microeconomic spheres, because under the conditions of confederalism there is no unified Yugoslav market nor are there enterprise that make profits.

The struggle for an advantageous position is a kind of implicit separatism, Radmilovic assessed, while the explanations given are not sustainable. The endorsement of the republic's Constitution is the Slovene people's sovereign right, but, according to the SFRY Constitution, the nations, apart from being responsible for their own development, are also responsible for the development of Yugoslavia as a whole. The theses are being interchanged, thus it is being said that the Slovene LC cannot prevent some unfavorable trends which were triggered by certain wrong political moves at the federal level. It appears that it is we who are actually to be blamed rather than the existing policy carried out in this republic.

To cite the solutions implemented in the Serbian Constitution as a precedent which is only mirrored by the Slovene Constitution is unsustainable, Radmilovic said, because the country's constitutional order has not been questioned by the Serbian Constitution. The theories about hegemonism and unitarism cannot be sustained either since Serbia wants prosperity and the social reforms cannot succeed if economic reforms are blocked and confederalism advocated. The interpretation according to which what happens in Serbia is the consequence of Serbia's policy are unacceptable, Radmilovic underlined. The scorning and belittling of Serbia's policy has no grounds, especially when this is taken as an alibi for carrying out one's own separatism. [passage omitted on petar simic's address]

Dobrivoje Vidic remarked that Slovene leaderships, even those in opposition, know that the disintegration of Yugoslavia would never be allowed. He spoke about large-scale propaganda action in Slovenia over the last 12 months against emergency measures in Kosovo and about the possibility of something similar happening in that republic. Such a situation would be inevitable. It would have to be introduced if there were attempts to secede from Yugoslavia. I believe that the people of Slovenia would not agree to be taken along this catastrophic path, Vidic said. [passage omitted]

Vidic also went on to say that if there is no emergency situation there is no need for emergency measures. If there had been no separatist actions in Kosovo there would have been no need for emergency measures.

It is not fair when Vidic first presupposes separatism and the secession of Slovenia and then goes on to attack these and to make threats, Janez Kocijancic said. That is not a democratic method of discussion.

Having stressed that the lack of preparation was one of the main shortcomings of today's plenum, Kocijancic went on to say that the LCY Central Committee should not ignore the principled stand that the LC should not intefere in the work of the state organs.

The adoption of the proposed amendments to the constitution of the SR of Slovenia is under the direct competence of the Slovene Assembly, which is a state organ. Any debate about this is a constitutional-legal and not an ideopolitical issue. I am not sure, therefore, that the LCY Central Committee is the "most competent" body to discuss this.

It is hard to see any positive effects of this attempt to "discipline" and of political pressures, Kocijancic stressed, adding that a nation cannot be treated like schoolchildren. Final judgements, such as those about separatism, counterrevolution, the destruction of Yugoslavia (Ckrebic), the division of Yugoslavia (Radimilovic), must be avoided unless the aim is to cause indignation among the Slovene people.

Kocijancic said that the proposed amendments to the Constitution of the SR of Slovenia were in accordance with SFRY Constitution. There is a possibility of collision between some legal documents but if this happens we are prepared to work on harmonizing them but only after the amendments have been adopted. It does not say anywhere that Slovenia can adopt its Constitution only after its has been given the go-ahead by other republics.

The solutions we are proposing are not damaging to others nor do they threaten anyone, let alone the constitutional system of the federation, Kocijancic said. Any restrictions on sovereignty are unacceptable. Such restrictions have caused great damage to socialism in the world so far and it is not sensible to repeat the same mistakes. [passage indistinct] [passage omitted]

The provision in the amendments to the Slovene Constitution referring to emergency measures can be questioned, Kocijancic said, but it in no way threatens the constitutional powers of the federation. The question, however, is whether someone has the intention to use

emergency measures and the armed forces against the will of the Slovene Assembly thus "extending Tiananmen Square to the outskirts of Trieste."

Perhaps someone wants to provoke the Slovene people to bring it out on the street and in this way gain a pretext for emergency measures. [passage omitted] In reference to the speech by Petar Simic, Kocijancic said that Slovenia did not use the amendments to face anyone with a fait accompli. I do not really understand the remark that the provision on the inviolability of the SFRY borders would be threatened.

Kocijancic said that Bogdan Trifunovic's reaction to Milan Kucan's speech was "a cheap attempt at discrediting one's interlocutor and reflects a lack of readiness for dialogue." We can slander each other, even start fights but the time will come when we will have to sit at a negotiating table. With this in mind it would be better if we sit down to resolve the problems, Kocijancic concluded.

If the Slovene Assembly were not to meet tomorrow, this would mean the introduction of extraordinary measures, even if no one officially publicizes them, Lev Kreft said. Such measures can be legal only if they make it possible for the legal and sovereign organs of the system to carry out their work, and not if they are deprived of their constitutional right and competence. After all, a session of the republic assembly prevented by political or other means is tantamount to the abolition of relations in the federation which are the result of 45 years of development.

Expressing doubt as to whether the right to self-determination runs counter to the SFRY Constitution, Kreft added that the individual amendments are more in contrast with some political pretensions in the country. According to him, a regular channel exists for the examination of the constitutionality of the amendments, and this is opened up only when the drafts are accepted, in view of the fact that prior to this they cannot be assessed but only debated. The regular organ, however, is the SFRY Constitutional Court, which is the only one which can say whether something is or is not in keeping with the SFRY Constitution.

Everyone, including me, has the right to be personally sceptical and maintain a critical distance in relation to the draft amendments, Kreft said. But my scepticism falls apart and distance disappears when, from day to day, both in public and in the LCY, I am confronted by the belittling of the right of a nation to self- determination, including also to secession. There can be no discussion of the ostensible overstepping of the limit of these rights without at the same time there being any discussion of the causes of their enhanced defense. [passage omitted]

Kreft believes that irretrievable damage will be caused if constitutent elements of our federation, such as the right to self- determination and to secession, become a bargaining chip and the greatest constitutional offense which could be committed in this area.

I have not heard one argument which might refute the fact that this session is arbitrary and badly prepared, he added. The reason for holding it today and here, in these conditions, can only be that it must be held prior to the session of the Slovene Assembly. And this determines its only possible aim—that the LCY Central Committee exert pressure so that a regular session and one which has been convened in the framework of its competence, is not held. I oppose this aim and believe it to be contrary to the statutes and in contravention of the Constitution. If some organ exists at all for such a thing, and I do not know of it, it is certain that this organ is not called the LCY Central Committee. This is why I advocate that we end this session with one single conclusion, and this is that we prepare a session of the LCY Central Committee on the ideopolitical aspects of the constitutional changes as Vukasin Micunovic has spoken about.

I agree with those who think that questions which concern Yugoslavia cannot be decided upon in a partial way in any of the republican assemblies, neither can this be done by any one nation regardless of its size, merits, and specific features, said Ljubmir Radovic. The scope of the federation, of rights and obligations, can only be discussed in a democratic dialogue on an equal footing and with respect, while conditions must be created jointly for the dialogue to be conducted without nationalist tension and without adopting entrenched positions. [passage omitted]

In connection with continual claims by Slovene officials that the draft amendments are not contrary to the federal Constitution, Radovic noted that the aim of this is to maintain the mood which has been created in Slovenia, which can also be understood as a deception of the Slovene public. [passage omitted]

The procedural discussion which some wanted to use in order to prevent this discussion clearly shows, in the words of Bogdan Trifunovic, the state of affairs in the LCY. It is fortunate that the session is public, so people can see who supports which stand.

People frequently talk about pressure in Slovenia. Who exercises this pressure? Those who are worried or the ones who have baised views. It is the second group which causes concern.

People say, Trifunovic added, that the LCY Central Committee Presidium's creating divisions by convening the LCY Central Committee session. However, the divisions are created by these amendments and by a lack of readiness to analyze the arguments of others and to plan jointly what to do next.

At the height of the biggest social crisis and the congress preparations the Slovene organs unilaterally want to

change some fundamental elements of the country's constitutional system with regard to relations in the federation.

A number of the proposed amendments are contrary to the SFRY Constitution. One republic can thus change the present constitutional organization and introduce some elements which would prevent the federation from carrying out its functions on the whole of the country's territory.

It is a false thesis, stressed Trifunovic, whereby someone's sovereign rights are denied, that the soverign rights of the Slovene people and of this republic's assembly are denied. They should all be concerned about the SFRY Constitution. If we decided to change it let us change it together, said Trifunovic.

As from tomorrow we will have a new constitutional and legal situation if the amendments are adopted. Some of them lead toward a special, privileged, and separate status of the SR of Slovenia in Yugoslavia. This, thinks Trifunovic, represents the realization of ambitions on an asymetrical federation. It will no longer be a federation but a confederation with special status for one federal unit.

A federal Constitution has never been changed unilaterally, stressed Trifunovic, neither can it be done now if we wish this country any good. However, these changes seriously threaten the equality of nations and nationalities. [passage omitted]

All this has led to unforseeable conflicts and the destruction of the stability of the country and even of its external position. Such changes cannot be defended and they represent a precedent which calls the SFRY into question.

It would also be dangerous for the LCY if it were to accept these changes because it would call into question its own position and role. It would, therefore, be reasonable to postpone the adoption of controversial amendments.

However, if the ammendments are adopted, this would destroy all the efforts of the LCY and the expectations of the people based on the 14th extraordinary congress adopting reform documents which would help us get out of the crisis. I wonder what would be the meaning of our joint work if one-sided solutions on relations in the federation are imposed.

Political damage has been done. It may become even greater tomorrow. For this reason, according to Trifunovic, it would be wise and responsible to take into account warnings by federal state and political organs in order that we do not "plunge" into even greater danger.

The only solution is to discuss jointly and in a constructive manner all the ideas and differences concerning the preparations of the congress and the new federal Constitution.

The Serbian LC will make its contribution to this. Yugoslavia, stressed Trifunovic, is in the interest of the Serbian nation and of other nations and nationalities living in Serbia, as well as of the other nations in the country. We will not reconcile ourselves with the elements which break up this socialist federative community.

Ending his remarks, Trifunovic suggested conclusions which, in his opinion, should be adopted at this LCY Central Committee plenum. He maintains that political disagreement should be voiced with the preparations and content of changes to relataions in the federation, and that the adoption of the amendments to the Slovene Constitution should be postponed.

Our orientation should be to work jointly on the new constitution of the SFRY, having previously adopted a platform on it at the forthcoming LCY congress. It is also necessary, thinks Trifunovic, to emphasize the responsibility of communists in Slovenia and in other parts of the country for the fate of their country. Finally, we should respect the strong demand by the people for the defense and development of the SFRY, based on established principles, Bogdan Trifunovic said in conclusion.

Emphasizing the very serious situation in the country as a result of the amendments to the Slovene Constitution, Momir Bulatovic said that there have been fewer and fewer dilemmas after the communiques of the SFRY Presidency, the FEC [Federal Executive Council] and the LCY Central Committee, because these communiques clearly state the far-reaching negative consequences for the integrity of the country if these amendments are adopted. Today's session, in his opinion, rounds up political activity which is both a warning and an attempt to postpone and prevent the amendments which could turn out to be secessionist, though officially in Slovenia this is no one's intention. [passage omitted]

The constitutional position of the LC does not allow it the luxury of not taking stands on certain questions, said Filip Vukovic, adding that the Central Committee should realize that this is not just a discussion on the Slovene amendments, but also on key issues: how to achieve the unity of the LC, the equality of nations and nationalities, and life together. It is the right of all the "residents", he added, to discuss their life together and for this reason the LC should not be the arbiter but instead it must fight for a principled dialogue, in order that solutions can be found to the expressions of concern over these amendments and especially over what would ensue if the amendments were to be adopted. [passage omitted]

Having noted that there was no broad discussion on the amendments to the Slovene constitution and that the LCY Central Committee session was convened in a hasty fashion, Stefan Korosec said that this in itself raised the question of to what extent it would contribute to the further democratization of society and to the development of our federative system and to what extent it

would contribute to the opening up of prospects for the development of centralism and unitarism in Yugoslavia. Calling for tolerance during the discussion he added that one should be aware of the fact that Slovene communists will not separate themselves from their own people, not just because of their common past but also because of the future.

The adoption of the amendments, Korosec thinks, is a major political and not just legal question and it is therefore necessary to investigate what really caused the feeling of being threatened among Slovenes and the proposal of some solutions for changes to the republic Constitution. [passage omitted]

In the words of Korosec, the LCY Central Committee does not have any criteria on the basis of which it can establish whether the draft amendments represent a step toward the realization of a strategy for the breaking up of Yugoslavia or else, whether they prevent the unitarist representation of the existing constitutional solutions, especially bearing in mind that the competent organs have not yet made their expert assessment. The political assessments of the amendments, he stressed, must be founded upon the constitutional and the law. [passage omitted]

Stressing that the draft amendments do not prejudice the future organization of the Yugoslav federation, Korosec pointed ou that we should have waited for the final version of the draft amendments by the Slovene Assembly's constitutional commission. If we are "stubborn" regarding some amendments it is because the proposed solution on economic sovereignty, for instance, is identical to the one which exists in the Croat constitution. The SFRY Constitution, continued Korosec, does not regulate the use of the armed forces in peace and he supported the justification of the Slovene proposal with the fact that a stand by the Serbian leadership is called for when deciding on the emergency measures in Kosovo.

At the time when the LCY Central Committee presidium was discussing the amendments to the Serbian constitution it was stated that the people of Serbia would not accept any interference or bans in the procedure of passing the constitution of this republic, which was accepted. What would happen, asked Korosec, if the question were now to arise on the coordination of some of these solutions with the SFRY Constitution, adding that not all republican constitutions receive equal treatment in the present constitutional discussions.

This discussion leads to further divisions and conflicts not only between the federal and republican leaderships with the Slovene leadership, but also with the Slovene people, said Dusan Dragosavac. Today's discussion shows lack of agreement on some questions and the last two LCY Central Committee sessions confirmed that very little can be done in the LCY Central Committee Presidium and in the LCY Central Committee considering that a propaganda war and other wars continue the moment their members return to their own environments.

The party presidiums and state presidencies did not act correctly when they assessed the draft amendments to the Slovene Constitution, not just because they did this immediately prior to their adoption but also, in Dragosavac's opinion, because they did not discuss the amendments to the other republican constitutions. And quite a lot could be said about them. Not denying the right to self-orientation, he added that no one in either the leadership or among individuals in Slovenia called into question the integrity of Yugoslavia, especially knowing that, as a rule, states are not destroyed without bloodshed.

Stressing that equality and the right to self-orientation which is linked with it are conditions for the cohesion and integrity of the country, Dragosavac said that there will be problems within the country and in its relations with neighbors if the question of equality is not solved.

Although it is the constitutional right of the SFRY organs to assess the coordination of the amendments to any one republican constitution with the federal constitution, this coordinating process, according to Dragosavac, cannot be done by command or under pressure. No leadership or individual can be exempt from criticism for the situation in intranational relations by "covering" itself or himself with the people, he specified. [passage omitted]

At least half of Yugoslavia is concerned about the possibility of adopting the announced amendments, Blagoje Hadzinski said. He maintained that it would be good if under such conditions the comrades in Slovenia postponed their adoption and thus opened up a possibility for explaining and proving that this group has no reason to be fearful.

I do not know whether these amendments are unconstitutional or not, but I do know that the demand for a postponement is not unconstitutional since it has not been written down anywhere that they should be adopted exactly on 27 September, Hadzinski said.

The next speaker, Petar Skundric, stressed that the controversial amendments represent a grave political mistake. He was especially convinced of this when in the course of the session the opinion of the SFRY Assembly's Commission for Constitutional Issues arrived. To this obvious political mistake the LCY Central Committee must provide an answer as well as guidelines for action at this complex juncture. Skundric opined that so far there has been no such attack on the country's foundations, though he maintained that its integrity could be threatened.

Skundric claimed that the LCY Central Committee must assess politically what the proposed amendments mean

and voice its attitude toward the aspirations for a confederal system or an asymmetrical federation. I maintain that it is impossible to have any opinion other than that this leads to the ultimate destruction of Yugoslavia as a unique multinational community.

Skundric stressed that this is primarily a political issue rather than a legal and expert one, since it is a matter of arranging relations within the federation rather than the denial of a nation's lasting and natural rights. He noted that theses are often exchanged in this matter. This is not to interfere with the arrangement of relations in Slovenia but rather in the SFRY. The second thesis, which is also subject to being interchanged, has it that the problem has arisen not because of the proposed amendments but because someone has asked questions and pointed to the extremely severe consequences of their adoption.

Skundric asked whether the theories (Kocijancic, Korosec) that someone is threatening the Slovene people with a state of emergency and extraordinary measures are in fact aimed—by the very comrades from the Slovene LC—at raising fears. We must avoid the interchanging of theses since this represents political abuse and a communist must assume full responsibility for such conduct.

Skundric warned that the leadership of the SR of Slovenia, which advocates political pluralism and consensus, wanted to decide on mutual relations in the federation unilaterally and without listening to others' opinions. He maintained that this sort of democratic process, in which a decision is made in a separatist and unilateral manner and in the name of democracy, should at least be viewed as the abandonment of the basic values created in our communist movement.

There should be no dilemma or alternative regarding the question of the need for a unified command system. He who attempts to question the unity of the deployment of armed forces in the country in certain situations—and in peacetime as well—including decisions on a state of emergency, attacks the foundations of the country's integrity, Skundric said.

He went on to present some details regarding the work of the LCY Central Committee Presidium preceding this session. The Presidium tried to convene a session of the LCY Central Committee by 20 September. Comrades Kucan, Muzevic, and Korosec, however, maintained that the communists in Slovenia should be given the opportunity to invest additional efforts in improving the existing situation. All the time they were claiming that this could not be discussed by the LCY Central Committee. It appears that the Slovene LC Central Committee is competent to assess the content of the amendment whereas the LCY Central Committee is not competent to do so. This is why the session was convened in such a way.

No one entertains the idea of separating Slovenia's Communists from the Slovene people and I also believe that it is in the interest of the Slovene people, as it is of all the other nations and nationalities in Yugoslavia, to discuss and resolve those issues related to the arrangement of mutual relations in the federation, Skundric said.

Vinko Hafner noted that these delicate issues were discussed in conditions of crisis which influenced certain moves. This is what forces us to seek better solutions but this can also "mislead us into the fog."

Speaking about the controversial amendment on the Slovene nation's right of self-determination all the way to secession, Hafner said that it was an unrealistic presumption that Slovenia would secede. There are people in Slovenia, but also outside the country, who are saying with increasing frequency: "Secede from the Bakans, Yugoslavia, and you willlive better."

No statelike creation, no system, Hafner resumed, is of lasting validity. Perhaps in the distant future and under completely different circumstances the Slovenes and other peoples will seek different forms of association. Today, however, the dismantling of Yugoslavia is against the interests of the Slovene people. This is how the majority of Slovenes think, although in the course of recent years some things have changed. Today, the majority of Slovenes still oppose secession but their number is smaller than it was. This means, Hafner concluded, that something has happened in Yugoslavia and in Slovenia that "began to erode their trust."

According to Hafner, were there no crises many dilemmas and controversies would be nonexistent. Neither the question of self-determination nor even that of other amendments would have been raised. One should work at making secession impossible but this is not just the business of Slovenia but of the whole of Yugoslavia.

Recently we discussed international relations. And the issue we are discussing today is part of the same question, Hafner said, adding that he supported the stands of the Slovene LC Central Committee on the proposed amendments to the republican constitution. I also support Kucan's position, Hafner said, with the exception of one or two heedless assessments of the Serbian leadership's conduct.

Hafner said that Trifunovic had to some extent rightly reacted to Kucan's position. Nevertheless, the assessments of the Slovene leadership made by the Serbian one and, vice versa, those of the Serbian leadership made by the slovenes are having a negative influence on our entire relations.

We do not doubt the efforts of our Serbian comrades for a better future for both Serbia and Yugoslavia, but a one-sided assessment of the situation in Slovenia and Yugoslavia is neither constructive nor good. You must make adjustments in certain matters, or else you will permanently contribute to division between us. [passage omitted]

We must accept as a fact that the Slovene Assembly will endorse the proposed amendments. What then would be a constructive conclusion from this forum for those who dispute these amendments?

Seeking a postponement of the adoption of the amendments is not possible. If this demand were made, the Slovene communists, and even the LCY Central Committee, would, in Hafner's view, find themselves in an unfortunate compromising position.

The Slovene Communists have "drawn something sensible" from today's debate, and I would like you, too, to find "something useful" in our statements.

The possibility always exists, Hafner continued, of evaluating the compatibility of the amendments to the Slovene constitution with the Constitution of the SFRY, of the Slovene Assembly examining them again.

Let us treat this as a good basis for preparations for our republican congresses and provincial conferences, which are even more important than the federal congress, and for the drafting of the new SFRY Constitution.

It is necessary to give sensible consideration and to be aware of the consequences of certain decisions, so as to ensure a positive influence on the behavior of Slovene and Yugoslav Communists, and not to find ourselves in a "state of shock", Hafner concluded. What kind of Yugoslavia do we want, asked Dragutin Kosovac. We have agreed on economic reform, but the question of changes in the political system remains open. When we settle this, which is not just a matter for Slovenia and Serbia, but for all others as well, we will have a chance of success. There is, however, cause for concern.

Assessing that only the amendments on self-determination to the point of secession and the treatment of the armed forces can be considered contentious, Kosovac stressed that Yugoslavia can only survive as a community of equal nations and nationalities. The federal constitution and constitutions of the republics must guarantee this equality, which is not an obstacle to the formation of a modern and efficient state. [passage omitted]

Replying to Vinko Hafner, Ljupce Jordanovski said that he was annoyed by the insistence that in adopting conclusions, the authority of the Slovene communists should not be destroyed. What about my authority at the grassroots, he asked, if I have quite different views on certain questions.

I do not belong to a large nation neither, I am from Macedonia, said Jordanovski, and if with the proposed amendments the aim is to protect Slovene sovereignty, other small nations will then lose out and have less protection than the present federal constitution affords them. If all of us were to be "protected" in such a way, on the other hand, this would go against the principles of AVNOJ.

We are constantly discussing constitutional solutions, but no one is saying to what extent all this will have a negative effect on the LCY, said Jordanoviski in conclusion. [passage omitted]

Borut Suklje had a comment to make on Pancevski's speech and said that it had not made any clearer the aim of the session. We have discussed the amendments least of all, and I therefore think that the aim of the debate is the adoption of stances which should be binding on the Slovene communists. If the stances are such that they arbitrate in constitutional matters, that they aim to replace the Slovene Assembly and commit communists to stands that go against the desire of the Slovene nation, then I have to say that the Slovene communists will not respect them. In the view of Bozidar Debenjak, Pancevski was not thinking when he said that there is a danger of a conflict between the Slovene and other nations. I am sure that all the harsh words which have been spoken at this session have not represented a conflict between nations, rather it was a case of political conflict, said Debenjak. He also noted that in the draft stances counter arguments are not taken into consideration at all, and that blanket judgements are being made.

According to Ivo Druzic, the time and motive for holding the session could meet with the greatest political censure of this Central Committee by our public. He raised the question of why the session was convened when most members are not experts on the constitution and in a situation in which differing claims are being made about the constitutional validity of the draft amendments. It turns out that we have been led into a situation in which we argue, because as nonspecialists we cannot decide but only show an inclination for the side in which we believe.

Personally I have the feeling that I have been manipulated, Druzic said, and added that this is an attempt at political manipulation by the Central Committee as a primary goal, and a definitive political blockading and liquidation as a secondary goal. We have arrived at a situation in which every decision of ours could also be our disqualification. Why can we not avoid discussion of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, as a result of which, I believe we are today being brought to the brink of political disqualification? Because a session prepared in this way can lead to outcomes which sooner or later mean the elimination of Tito's LCY.

First, we can support the amendments, but if by doing this we are supporting separatism—and we do not know if we are—then extraordinary measures must follow so as to prevent the break-up of the SFRY, Druzic said.

Second, we can request the postponement of the adoption of the amendments and this could give rise to two situations. One is that the Slovene LC agrees and Kucan will appear before the republican assembly requesting the postponement. This could result in general popular anger and the political marginalization of the LC. The leadership of the Slovene LC Central Committee could

also reject the stances, something which would lead to its departure from the LCY, and both results could mean the creation of an extraordinary situation.

The third possible outcome, according to Druzic, is that no conclusions are adopted. In other words, that we argue so much that in practical terms we commit political suicide. Again, the only way out of such a situation of the political blockading of the federal institutions and the danger of the disintegration of Yugoslavia is an emergency situation, not only in Slovenia but in the whole country.

It transpires that the LCY Central Committee Presidium has led us into a situation where regardless of what they decide the serious possibility always exists of the outcome being the same. What would it mean if for the second time in such a short period changes to the constitution lead to an emergency situation. This would mean, Ivo Druzic said, the compromising of the leadership of the army, which would not be able to escape the assessment that instead of defending the constitution and democracy, it is in fact implementing their suspension. This compromising of the current leadership of the army - and this means its liquidation—eliminates, as nationalists are now openly saying, also one of the last bastions of "Titoism, in other words, AVNOJ" In this way, in the opinion of Druzic, a further "solution" is opened up, and it too must be taken into consideration, and this is a coup d'etat. This too has not been unheralded.

This, Druzic stated, is what the LCY Central Committee Presidium—consciously or unconsciously, by accident or intentionally—has in fact offered us by convening the session in this way. [passage omitted]

After further "procedural" discussions about whether or not the session should have convened at the last moment, Janez Zemljaric said that the proposed stances were unacceptable, particularly those relating to discipline. In his view, it is necessary to accept the political realities, in other words to enable the Slovene Assembly to realize its legitimate duty and rights. The assertion that Slovenia allegedly intends to destroy the integrity of the country sounds like a serious insinuation and at the same time speaks of ignorance of the desires of the working people of Slovenia. Noting that in statements by the competent state organs different numbers of contentious amendments are given (from four to seven), Zemljaric called on the competent organ—the constitutional court, to give a considered assessment on these amendments when they are adopted in the republican assembly. The only member of the Central Committee who received applause from the 60 or so participants in the debate was Petar Simic. Replying to the, in his view, unacceptable discussion between Ivo Druzic and Janez Kocijancic, Simic said that the Yugoslav People's Army is what its name says—not an undisciplined mob, nor a mercenary force, nor does it operate according to a scenario or someone's whim.

The military leaders of the army, Simic emphasized, are responsible and political people who do not function at the press of a button, who are aware of their responsibility, role, and task as set out in the constitution. The supreme command is the SFRY Presidency, and not just someone who orders and imposes a state of emergency. That is not just anyone and I ask that on this platform you behave with respect for the Presidency as my supreme command, for the YPA, for its role and military leaders. [passage omitted]

Using his right to reply, Janez Kocijancic said that he has complete faith in the YPA and its democratic and popular character. He added that the competence of the SFRY Presidency for the introduction of a state of emergency in peace time is not precisely regulated in the constitution and that consequently others are thinking about the introduction of emergency measures, which the debate in the Central Committee has shown. [passage omitted]

Calling for the adoption of the proposed stances, Nedeljko Sipovac said that the demand that the present topic should not be put on the agenda is a tactic, as is the dragging out of the debate so that it goes right up to the adoption of the amendments to the Slovene Constitution so that the Slovene Assembly is unable to learn what the Central Committee concluded.

Vukasin Micunovic said that he has faith in the ability of the Slovene Assembly to adopt the amendments without directives from the outside, and that no republican LC organizations should be "lectured" to, including the Slovenes. Micunovic mentioned that he was shocked by the style of discussion at the session, that is the statements that someone would not stoop to comment on someone else's speech or accusations of filibustering. I have no further desire to be in the Central Committee, Micunovic stressed in conclusion. I am neither angry nor disappointed. On the contrary, it has been an honor for me to have been a member for so long. I have simply had enough, he said, explaining his decision to submit his resignation from his position as member of the LCY Central Committee.

It was already dawn when chairman Rahman Morina proposed that the Central Committee start voting on the draft assessments and positions.

Before voting on every point individually, Boris Muzevic, as a member of the working group on their formulation, stressed that they had not been unanimously passed. [passage omitted]

Milan Kucan reacted by mentioning that the Central Committee has the right to vote and decide as it pleases. He recalled his own proposal from the beginning of the session not to adopt any conclusions, excerpt for the one principled stand on the need for joint work on the new constitution as we will otherwise be left with "two truths", serious words, and scars.

Quoting Bogdan Trifunovic and Tomislav Radovic, Kucan denied that the Slovene LC Central Committee opposed a discussion at today's LCY Central Committee plenum. It is also not true, he added, that the Slovene LC Central Committee had taken upon itself to assess whether the draft amendments were in keeping with the federal Constitution.

Finally, Kucan assessed as incorrect the presuppositions on which the proposed assessments and stands are based and therefore he cannot vote in favor of them. Kucan asked that during the decision-making a record should be kept of votes by members from the Slovene LC Central Committee. [passage omitted]

After a short break, Ivica Racan took the floor and proposed that the Central Committee conduct a discussion as soon as possible on the political situation in the country whose seriousness is illustrated by problems which have come to light at this session and which require a discussion not just about the consequences but also about the causes, as well as on the situation in the Central Committee ranks. In this case there is a chance that our leadership is Yugoslav, while otherwise I do not see this chance, said Racan. [passage omitted: other topics such as development of the country and its integrity should also be put on the Central Committee agenda]

The Central Committee plenum adopted (with 97 votes "for", 40 "against" and one abstention) the assessments and positions on ideopolitical questions of the draft amendments to the Slovene constitution. Voting was conducted by casting individual votes.

After the adoption of this document, Franc Setinc stressed that there should be a record of the fact that all members of the LCY Central Committee from the Slovene LC voted against the proposed assessments and positions: first, because they think that the amendments were not contrary to the SFRY constitution, and second, because they are convinced that the amendments neither threaten the integrity of Yugoslavia nor are contrary to the vital interests of any other republic or province. [passage omitted]

At the end of the 27th session, the LCY Central Committee decided that Vukasin Micunovic's resignation from membership to the highest party forum, tendered today, be discussed at the next session of the Central Committee.

This plenum of the LCY Central Committee lasted nearly 16 hours and ended at 0800, an hour before the session of the Slovene Assembly. More than half of the LCY Central Committee members took part in the discussion.

Markovic, Others Meet on Amendments

LD2709125689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1924 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 26 Sep (TANJUG)—Federal Executive Council [FEC] President Ante Markovic held a meeting this afternoon with the presidents of the executive councils of the republics and provinces. They examined the proposals for changes and amendments to several laws, to contribute to the implementation of FEC's latest proposed anti-inflationary measures. These are laws on financial dealings, the eradication of unfair competition, the system of social price control, financing the federation, and the law on turnover tax on goods and services. In the same group of anti-inflationary measures are the draft laws regulating the new role of the commodity reserves and establishing the sources of funds to finance them.

According to the Secretariat for Information, President Ante Markovic particularly stressed that the FEC is open to all proposals and suggestions that will contribute to the improvement and greater efficiency of the proposed solutions. [passage omitted]

Vojvodina's 'Indignation, Concern' Over Events

AU2809094689 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 28 Sep 89

[Text] The Presidium of the Provincial Committee of the LC of Vojvodina is meeting in Novi Sad. Nedeljko Sipovac, president of the Presidium of the Provincial Committee, said at the beginning of the session that the Presidium will adopt stands and assessments in connection with the events in Slovenia.

Sipovac said that there is great disquiet, indignation, and concern among the peoples and nationalities of Vojvodina because the Slovene Assembly, regardless of all the warnings by state organs, nevertheless adopted the disputed amendments to the republican Constitution yesterday.

Montenegrins Protest Slovenian Amendments

LD2709203189 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1933 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Text] Titograd, Sept 27 (TANJUG)—More than 50,000 residents of Titograd, capital of the Yugoslav Republic of Montenegro, attended a rally this afternoon to protest against the intention of the Slovenian Assembly to adopt amendments to the republican constitution today. The amendments are being understood in Montenegro as an attack on Yugoslavia's unity and integrity.

Of the 68 amendments to the Constitution of Slovenia, six were described as controversial by a large section of the Yugoslav public.

Those which caused most dilemmas included the amendments defining Slovenia's right to self-determination and secession, granting the republic the right not to observe

decisions taken by the federation if it finds them contrary to republican interests, restricting the power of the State Presidency to deploy the Armed Forces in time of peace and introduce state of emergency.

The rally was organized by the Titograd Council of Trade Unions whose President Milisav Popovic stressed that the adoption of the proposed amendments would constitute a sensless act which undermines Yugoslavia.

Montenegrin party leader Momir Bulatovic said that yesterday's session of the Yugoslav party Central Committee, which discussed the amendments to the Slovenian Constitution, has opened yet another wound on the scarred soul of those gravely concerned for the fate of Yugoslavia.

He expressed reservations regarding statements by Slovenian officials that the controversial amendments do not reflect an intention to secede from Yugoslavia, adding that he will believe them only when the Slovenian Constitution has ceased to lend itself to at least two interpretations. Yugoslavia was not created by armchair politicians, he warned, and it cannot be dismembered by them.

Bulatovic fully upheld the Yugoslav People's Army resoluteness to defend the country's territorial integrity in accordance with its constitution role.

Milo Djukanovic, secretary of the Montenegro party Central Committee Presidency, said that the Montenegrin people do not want any other common home except Yugoslavia, which has been seriously threatened by the draft amendments to the Slovenian Constitution.

Participants in the protest rally sent telegrams to the top state and party bodies of Yugoslavia, Slovenia and Montenegro, expressing strong opposition to the intention of the Slovenian Assembly to adopt the controversial amendments.

Workers Protest Adoption of Slovene Amendments

LD2709135789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1307 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Text] Titograd, 27 Sep (TANJUG)—Some 2000 people, mostly workers from the Radoje Dakic building construction machinery plant gathered at 1300 outside the Assembly of Montenegro to protest over the announced adoption of the controversial amendments to the Slovene Constitution.

The Radoje Dakic workers left their factory halls after 1200 sporting party and state banners, and shouting slogans against Slovenia, Kucan, Smole, Kovacevic, Micunovic, and Filipovic.

On their way to the republican party they were joined by several hundred workers from Titograd's other collectives. In the meantime the Municipal Trade Union council scheduled a protest meeting outside the Montenegrin Assembly for 1430.

Army Paper on 'Grave Consequences' of Amendments

AU2709175089 Belgrade NARODNA ARMIJA in Serbo-Croatian 21 Sep 89 p 2

[Lj. Stojadinovic commentary: "All Our Borders"]

[Text] It has been really difficult to observe all events on the seething domestic political scene during the last few months. The public is already a little fed up of statements that excite it and upset it, but the excessive political accusations are still the most read daily texts. The ever deeper entrenchment in one's own yards "promises" new excitement and additional accusations, something that can only lead us into greater troubles than we have at the moment.

The most tragic thing in all this is certainly the phenomenon that nationalisms are aggressive and that they no longer take upon themselves the guise of idiosyncrasy, but in some cases even acquire a chauvinist nature. In all these tragic examples of breaking the country apart, the concern and responsibility for its entirety and destiny seem to rest somewhere on the sidelines of events and narrower interests flood the already excessively tense political scene.

During the past week, two events have nevertheless come to the fore if one judges by the intensity of the public reaction. The "Cosic case" has understandably shaken up the feeling for Yugoslav patriotism, in some forgotten places, and all attempts to present his interview to the Italian paper as a misunderstood excursion of a freedom lover sound even clumsy. With his "ruminations" about the borders, people in our Army, and our social reality in general, Cosic has, to say the least, hurt those people who prefer their love for their own country to the respect for the civilization across the sea and refuse to resort to an inferior status in this respect.

Somehow at the same time, amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia were presented to the public. Without taking into consideration the sovereign right of every republic to change its highest legal document to suit its interests, one should not disregard the interests of the SFRY. The SFRY—in order remain what it is—has to realize its sovereignty on its entire territory exactly because of the very interests of each of its parts.

In a certain way, some of the amendments contest this point in some of their provisions, so that the possibility of the "conflict of sovereignty" has appeared, something which would represent an unacceptable precedent from the point of view of the functioning of the federation.

The country's presidency has warned that such a concept, which is obviously at variance with the SFRY

Constitution, can have grave consequences for the country's unity and security and has also "warned about the far-reaching negative consequences for the constitutional setup of the country, relations in the federation, and the respect for the principles of constitutionality and legality in case the adopted amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia are at variance with the SFRY Constitution."

However, DELO of Saturday carries a cartoon on its front page which accuses the Yugoslav People's Army of opposing the amendments. A military plane bearing Yugoslav amblems attacks the harmless Constitution and its amendments, all in the real manner of a political cartoon.

A parallel drawn between the well-known writer and the authors of the amendments carries a real symbolical message. In both cases a nasty game is being played with the essence, borders, and dignity of the people who have a developed feeling of Yugoslavism. Unfortunately, sobering up can also be extremely unpleasant. The question of all borders of the country has been solved permanently and in a sufficiently persuasive and secure way. The question is only whether everybody has understood that.

Kosovo Executive Council Vice Chairman Resigns

AU2709203689 Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Text] At the start of today's meeting of the Kosovo Assembly Associated Labor Chamber, Hazer Susuri presented his resignation as vice chairman of the Kosovo Executive Council. Explaining this move, he said, among other things, that due to the fact that ideopolitical and other measures were applied against individuals and citizens because they had supported the conclusions of the Kosovo Assembly Constitutional Commission during the public debate following the approval of constitutional changes in the Republic of Serbia, he could not, as a communist and an individual, reconcile himself to such a way of tackling the problem.

He went on to say that it has often been stated that, following the changes in the constitution of Serbia, the political and security situation in Kosovo would be stabilized and the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins would be halted. However, facts at the present time show something completely different.

Hazer Susuri also mentioned, as an additional argument for his resignation, certain aspects of the application of ideopolitical differention in Kosovo, stating that this is being carried out in a haphazard manner and without sound arguments. In this connection, he stated, I have refused to take part in the process of differentiation in the Medical Faculty, partly because the appeal by 215 Albanian intellectuals included some of the official conclusions of the Constitutional Commission of the Kosovo Assembly itself, as well as because the signatories of the appeal and of various other petitions have not been treated in an equal manner. He concluded by saying that his decision was also influenced by the ideopolitical measures adopted against those delegates of this assembly who had voted against the amendments to the Constitution of Serbia, despite their immunity as delegates. All these measures, he stated, are not in line with and in the interest of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

Stari Trg Miners Strike Over Pay Demands

AU2709195889 Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Text] The Stari Trg miners at Trepce have come out on strike again. About 190 miners of the third shift refused to go down the mine last night. Their colleagues from the first shift, about 230 miners, joined them this morning in refusing to go down. The miners of the second shift also refused to go down. The miners declared that they are striking because they have not been paid their August wages. Representatives of the communal authorities, of the Stari Trg mine, and of the Trepca Combine talked with the strikers, but the latter insist they will not return until their wages are paid. The General people's Defense and Social Self-Protection Committee of Titova Mitrovica will meet to discuss the causes and consequences of the work stoppage.